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EXCURSIONS

IN

SOUTHERN AFRICA,

INCLUDING

A HISTORY OF THE CAPE COLONY,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE NATIVE TRIBES, ETC.

BY

LT.-COLONEL E. ELERS NAPIER,

LATELY EMPLOYED ON SPECIAL SERVICE IN KAFFIRLAND.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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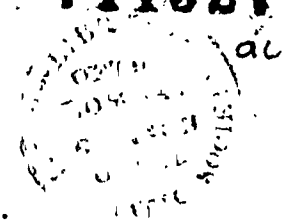
VOL. I.



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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY — LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN

G. C. B. &c. &c. &c.

LATE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE & IN NORTH AMERICA

THIS WORK IS,

WITH MOURNFUL FEELINGS OF VENERATION

AND RESPECT,

INSCRIBED

TO THE LAMENTED MEMORY

OF THE

"BENEFACTOR"

TO THE COLONY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE:

THE LATE

LT.-GENERAL SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN, G.C.B.,

&c. &c. &c.

INTRODUCTION.

An Introductory Chapter is I believe seldom perused by the general reader; I must however e'en take my chance; and likewise the present opportunity of making a few preliminary observations respecting this publication, as well as another work, which has lately appeared relative to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

On returning from Southern Africa — whither I was sent on Particular Service during the last Kaffir war—so fully was I impressed with the mis-government of that important, though ill-used and long-neglected part of the British Empire; of the numerous wrongs it had suffered — owing chiefly to shameful intrigues and gross misrepresentations— that, desirous of showing up these accumulated evils, together with their unprincipled authors, I compiled for publication a mass of evidence, wherein all the misdeeds of the latter were clearly embodied and set forth; whilst, to prove the accuracy of my assertions, I was most particular in referring to those

authorities whence I derived my information; thus giving, in every instance, "chapter and verse" for what I advanced.

But the "truth"—naked and undisguised—was not—in these days of refinement and morality—deemed by the publishers a befitting exhibition for the public eye; the ominous words of "libel," (meaning unconcealed facts) of "extreme opinions," "unbefitting exposures," &c., were hoarsely murmured in my ears; in short, all such of the profession to whom I applied on the subject, declined to bring out my "Book of the Cape," unless it were completely altered, softened down, and re-modelled, so as to suit the "prevailing taste and sentiments of the day."

After all the toil and research I had bestowed on the subject, I neither could nor would make up my mind to mutilate the result of my labours, by curtailing it of its fairest proportions—by thus omitting the very pith and marrow of the tale. The manuscript was therefore safely deposited in my escrutoire, where for many months it remained, until I happened one day to mention the subject to a talented friend, (then recently returned from the Cape, and likewise the author of a work on that part of the world) who kindly offered—whilst adhering to the original text—so to attempt to modify, alter, and add to my production, as not only to remove the objections before urged against its publica-

tion, but likewise, by introducing additional matter, with hints on the now engrossing topic of Emigration, to increase, in all probability, its interest with the public.

Wearied by so many vexatious delays, and annoyed at all the trouble I had bestowed having hitherto been completely cast away, I relaxed in my resolution not to prune what appeared to be generally regarded as exuberances in my work; and consoling myself with the idea, that another and more skilful hand would be employed to use the knife, I closed the bargain, by accepting the proffer of my friend.

Thus edited, the "Book of the Cape" has, with the above alterations, gone through the press; and, though no doubt greatly improved, as well as modified, by so able a reviser, still there are a few points —particularly such as those relating to the Missionary and Convict systems in Southern Africa—in which I cannot entirely agree with the highly-gifted Editor; for they are systems to both of which I am most unqualifiedly opposed. The latter is as yet an untried "experiment;" and it is to be hoped will ever remain so; but the former has had ample time as well for trial as for condemnation; and the world is beginning now to find, that undue spiritual influence in temporal matters is equally out of place, be it assumed by the Llama of Thibet—the Pope of Rome—the Patriarch at Constantinople—a Colonial

Bishop—or the Head of a Religious Society at the Cape of Good Hope.

Whether this self-arrogated sway—unauthorized by laws either human or divine—be exercised by Brahminical, Papal, Patriarchal, or Episcopal power —by crafty Priests, subtle Jesuits, or ignorant and uneducated Missionaries—the present state of enlightenment now clearly points out, that such usurpation is — and always hath been — attended with countless evils, and that it is therefore high time it should every where be brought to an end.

At the actual moment, rife with the most important events, when we behold a despotic hierarchy once more ruling with tyrannical will the "Capital of the Christian world;" when — re-established by ambitious and unholy priests—the most sanguinary tribunal which e'er disgraced the annals of mankind again shrouds with grim terrors the walls of the Eternal City; when we hear of the rights of nations being trampled on by an arbitrary and grasping autocrat, who would fain—to accomplish the most iniquitous designs—envelop with additional slavery and barbarism the fairest portion of the world; when we hear of the unprecedented demands of this tyrant being—by the agency of the Greek Church—aided and abetted through the medium of religious influence, thus employed to stir up a numerous population against its lawful rulers; when we see the harmony, nay, the very existence of our own Co-

lonies seriously endangered by undue interference of the same nature; when in New Zealand we behold the wise measures of Sir George Grey (one of the few men who can boast of owing so high a position to talent and merit alone) seriously impeded by clerical interposition; when at the Cape of Good Hope we hear of extensive grants of territory emanating from the same unauthorized source—of the surrounding barbarous Tribes being stirred up against us by Missionary intervention and intrigue, with an exhibition of imaginary wrongs; when, through such means, the safety, nay, the very existence, of that Colony, has more than once been placed in jeopardy; when such extraordinary events as these are of constant recurrence, even at the present day—it cannot be considered premature to expose and cry out against a system rife with so many evil results; a system which has been carried to such an unwarrantable extent, more especially in that part of the world to which the following work particularly relates.

At this moment, likewise, whilst misery and starvation are hourly driving thousands from their native land, and when thousands more would emigrate, had they but the means of so doing—when, at the same time, so many pecuniary calls are constantly made on the British public, in furtherance of Missionary Societies, it might not be amiss to inquire how the funds so collected are applied; if the channel in which they now flow be likely to lead to the object

in view; namely, the conversion of the "Heathen" to the doctrines of the Christian faith; and whether so important an object, together with that of real philanthropy, would not be more readily promoted by—in the first instance—appropriating such funds to the general purposes of "Emigration and Colonization."

Upwards of half a century has now elapsed, since Missionary funds and Missionary labour have been uselessly expended on Southern Africa, in vain attempts to convert the Kaffir race; I say vain attempts, because it is notorious, (notwithstanding those flaming accounts which have been published to the contrary, and fondly believed by a too-credulous "religious British public") it is a fact which cannot be contradicted, that all such attempts have hitherto proved complete failures; that — as the first and most talented of the Missionaries in that part of the world, the celebrated Van der Kemp, very justly remarked—"we have begun at the wrong end." Before we attempt to *convert*—to initiate a set of barbarians as yet but little removed above the level of the brute creation, into the—to them—incomprehensible mysteries of divine revelation—we must first endeavour to *civilize*, and to make them feel the wants of civilization; competent and properly qualified ministers of our holy religion—not a set of needy and ignorant adventurers—may then, and not till then, have some chance of impressing

these obstinate unbelievers with a true perception of the Christian faith.

Though the system hitherto pursued, as regards the formation and working of the different Missionary Societies in Southern Africa, is, in the following work, most openly opposed; still there must be exceptions, as applicable to so large a number of individuals, amongst whom are no doubt to be found worthy, enlightened, and conscientious men; and even, taking them as a body, exceptions must likewise be made to any universal condemnatory rule. For instance, the Moravians and Wesleyans strikingly illustrate the point in question; and, in noticing with every feeling of respect and approbation their conduct and measures, as compared with those of other sects, I have no less an authority to quote, than the late respected and lamented Governor of the Cape, known there, to this day, as the "Great and good Sir Benjamin d'Urban."

I hope the reader will pardon this digression, and allow me next to say a few words on the immediate subject of the present remarks: my so-called — for want of a better title—"Excursions in Southern Africa," some portions of which originally appeared in the "New Monthly Magazine." Nor can I allow this occasion to pass by, without returning my best thanks to its talented editor, Mr. Harrison Ainsworth, for thus kindly giving these papers a place in his popular and widely-circulated periodical.

On first undertaking to put together the following work, it was my intention to have given a connected history of the last Kaffir war, up to the period when Sir Harry Smith's arrival put a stop to those protracted and expensive hostilities; restoring at once security, peace, and—as it was then hoped—permanent tranquillity, to this valuable, though ever most unfortunate, ill-treated, and neglected dependency of the British crown.

Several reasons, however, induced me to alter this, my proposed plan of operations. In the first place, I had not been an eye-witness to the whole of what I proposed to recount: such parts as I *had* witnessed, it would perhaps—as a subordinate actor, and therefore not able to appreciate the motives of many incomprehensible moves of the game—have been unbecoming in me to censure, or even to "damn with faint praise" actions, the merits of which it were difficult to discover. Nevertheless, "to judge of the talents of a General by his conduct in the field has always been the undisputed right of every military writer:"[1] though, in availing myself of this privilege, I should perhaps have brought a hornets' nest about my ears. This, however, was my least concern; for it is universally admitted that public men and public measures are public property: as *such*, they become legitimate food for History; and History is *supposed* to be truthful, and unbiassed by the appre-

[1] See Napier's Peninsular War, vol. iii., p. xiii.

hension of giving offence. But my chief motive for abandoning the idea of writing a "History" of the Kaffir war of 1846 and 1847 was the circumstance of having been already forestalled in the undertaking, by one far more qualified than myself for so important a task. Mrs. Ward's "Five Years in Kaffirland" (which shortly ran through two editions) had appeared, and would have made my story "a twice-told tale." When, however, with all this gifted writer's powers of observation, and the means which were ever at her disposal for obtaining correct information—stationed, as she was, during the whole period of the war, as it were, in the very centre of the operations she describes—when, under all these favourable circumstances, the following admission of the difficulty of getting at the truth appears on the face of her work, it became to me a matter of less regret that I had been anticipated in the almost hopeless task of unravelling this Gordian knot, comprising a series of apparently incomprehensible operations, most unaccountably protracted[1] for so lengthened a period, and at an expense of nearly three millions of the standard currency of the realm!

"I can quite understand," says the author of

[1] Sir Harry Smith gave it as his opinion, that if "two thousand men were rapidly and energetically moved, the war would be terminated in two or three weeks." See p. 111 of "Blue Book" for 1848, containing Parliamentary Correspondence relative to the Kaffir Tribes.

"Five Years in Kaffirland," "why there is a difficulty in obtaining the truth; for it is clearly known that many calamitous events were carefully concealed from Sir Peregrine Maitland; lest, from his great age, and the vicissitudes and fatigues to which he was constantly exposed, any increased anxiety should prove injurious to his health of mind or body."[1]

* * * * *

Having, therefore, abandoned the intention of giving a connected account of the last Kaffir Campaign, and being—after repeated offers of service—still unemployed; for the sake of occupation as much as any thing else, I resolved to turn if possible to account my late expedition to the Cape of Good Hope, by writing—though on an altered plan—something relative to that part of the world, and which might, at all events, have for its recommendation a certain degree of novelty of design.

In furtherance of this purpose, I diligently set to work to obtain from every available source all the general knowledge I could gather relative to Southern Africa, and to the various native Tribes by whom it is at present, and was formerly, occupied on its first discovery by the Portuguese. My researches, therefore, carried me back to the earliest periods of the Settlement of the Cape, and were brought up to the passing events of the present day. To prosecute these inquiries, I had to glean materials

[1] From "Five Years in Kaffirland," vol. ii., p. 150.

from many voluminous documents now completely out of date, many of which I had great difficulty in procuring, and the very names of whose authors are now, generally speaking, unknown. Some of these old works I had had opportunities of perusing and taking notes from, in the extensive library at Cape Town; whilst I collected much information from others—not often disturbed from their resting-places—in the British Museum. I likewise consulted all authentic sources furnished by more modern writers; nor do I believe that I left unread a single work which I could by any means procure, relative to the subject of my investigation; in obtaining which I was much indebted to the exertions and civility of Messrs. Parker and Furnival, of the Military Library at Whitehall, whose collectors, no doubt, often wished me—for all the trouble I gave them—once more among the Kaffirs. Such—together with what I myself witnessed in Southern Africa—were the materials I had to work on; and, in so doing, I did not hesitate often to give the very words of the authors whom I quoted, when I thought them more applicable to what I described, than any thing I could have myself said on the subject.

With respect to the illustrations, my publisher—regardless of expense—has most liberally allowed me to insert a greater number than is usually bestowed on books of so little pretension; whilst I only hope and trust, with the gentleman above alluded to, that they

may tend to make it somewhat attractive to the general reader. A few of these drawings I sketched from nature—others were furnished by friends on the spot—but as regards those possessing the greatest interest, viz., the portrait of Sir Harry Smith, and the likeness of Sir Benjamin d'Urban—I am indebted for the former to Mr. Hogarth, of the Haymarket; and for the latter to Mr. Stephens, of 27, Upper Belgrave Place, who kindly allowed a copy to be taken by Mr. J. P. Harding for that purpose, from a bust of his own performance, and which I believe to be the only memento of the kind now extant of this truly great and good man.

It may perhaps be thought by some, that in advocating the interests of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, I am rather severe on certain systems, societies, and individuals, which are represented to have been, and still to be, most prejudicial to the welfare both of that Settlement and of its Colonial inhabitants. The only reply I have to make to such a charge, is, that—if well founded—any undue animadversion has been unintentional on my part; the sole object in view being to expose past grievances and present wrongs, in hopes that they might for the future be either rectified or avoided. Nor can I well be accused of having been influenced by interested motives, to swerve from what I conscientiously consider to be the truth; as it is not probable I shall ever again visit the Cape of Good Hope, or become in

any way identified with the transactions of that part of the world. I may therefore safely say, that if I have "nothing extenuated," neither have I set down "aught in malice;" for I have not any personal acquaintance with, nor have I even seen, many of the individuals whose measures and conduct I the most severely condemn.

As the last portion of this work was going through the press, the recent "Convict Question at the Cape" attracted a renewed degree of interest with the Public, from the decided opposition evinced by the inhabitants of that Colony, to a decision exposing the British Government, not only to the imputation of having endeavoured to enforce an arbitrary and unconstitutional measure, but likewise to a breach of faith[1] towards the inhabitants of an important and hitherto loyal portion of Her Majesty's dominions. This step has not only excited in that Settlement the utmost consternation, but has—in a frenzied moment of despair—fairly driven it to the very brink of actual rebellion; most seriously compromising, at the same time, a brave and devoted servant of Her Majesty, who, on the most solemn assurances from the highest quarters, had pledged himself towards the people whom he governed, that the Cape of Good Hope should not be thus converted into a second "Norfolk Island."

[1] Refer to Lord John Russell's public reply to Mr. Adderly, on the 28th March, 1849.

"We shall not," says an influential publication of the day,[1] "we shall not enter into the question of the right of the Mother Country to force a Convict population upon any Colony of the Empire, or whether a conquered Colony is so entirely at our mercy, that we can have the right to deprive the Dutch Colonists of their slave labour, paying them a trifling compensation for their loss, and then supply them with Convict labour, equally against their will; or whether the compact made with the Parliamentary Emigrants in 1820, that the Colony should never be the receptacle of Convicts, is not binding towards their descendants: but we do protest against the plea of the expenditure of one or two millions in the late Kaffir war, '*as provoked by the Colonists*,' giving the Mother Country the right to make the Cape a Convict Colony. Such a plea is very like adding insult to injury; for how stands the matter?"

With respect to this accusation brought against the Settlers, of having been the cause of the last or *any* previous Kaffir war—it is a charge assuredly without any foundation. These wars—as I shall, in the course of the present work, very clearly prove—these wars originated in the most mistaken course of policy, obstinately pursued towards a set of faithless and rapacious savages, who were constantly tempted to plunder the Colonists with impunity,

[1] See the Naval and Military Gazette for September 22nd, 1849.

owing to the unprotected state in which the whole extent of the Eastern Frontier has invariably been left.[1]

Now, as to the "Convict Case" itself, it stands briefly as follows: when the question was first mooted, of converting the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope into a penal settlement, Sir Harry Smith strongly remonstrated against such a step. In reply, he received an assurance from the Colonial Secretary of State, that this measure should not be carried into effect without the concurrence of its inhabitants; which assurance was accordingly communicated to them, and apparently quieted their apprehensions; for their dissent to the proposed "experiment" had been openly and unanimously manifested. However, ere the expression of such sentiments had possibly time to reach England, a vessel was thence despatched to Bermuda, with instructions to convey from that island a certain number of convicted felons, for the purpose of being deported and landed at the Cape of Good Hope.[2]

[1] See Parliamentary Papers for 1836 and 1837, relating to the Cape of Good Hope; also Sir Benjamin d'Urban's Despatch to Lord Glenelg, dated June 9th, 1836; which is referred to at p. 126, vol. ii., of this work; and likewise Sir P. Maitland's Despatch, No. 2, to Earl Grey, dated December 2nd, 1846, at p. 6, of "Blue Book (1848.)

[2] It has since transpired that not only was it proposed to make the Cape a receptacle for civil convicts, but that the boon was also to have been extended to that Colony, of being annually favoured with the importation of a certain number of "Military Felons."

Such is a concise summary of the various circumstances which have led to so unprecedented a state of affairs in that distant part of the world; a proceeding which—with very few exceptions—has been most severely animadverted upon by the whole of the British press.

On the other hand, it has been asked, "Of what use are our Colonies?" And "What are we to do with our Convicts?" I would reply, that in the present over-peopled and starving state of the Mother Country, "Emigration"—not "transportation"—would be the most useful and legitimate purpose to which a Colony—as yet but thinly peopled—and blessed with a fine healthy climate—could, under existing circumstances, be applied; but that most assuredly the prospect of being amalgamated with the outcasts of society holds out but a faint encouragement for Emigrants—having the least claim on respectability—to repair thither. As regards the right or justice of such a measure, to compare small things with great, it may be asked—supposing always such to be within the bounds of possibility—if, in order to remove from certain wretched quarters of the metropolis, that pestilence which for some time past has been decimating their squalid inhabitants; if for the accomplishment of so salutary an object, it would be considered justifiable to turn the course of those drains, cesspools, and other sources of contagion, whence the above fearful visitation is supposed

to have emanated, into an entirely new channel—say along Carlton Terrace, St. James's, or the fashionable regions of Belgravia? I will ask—should the possibility of such a contingency occur—whether the inhabitants of those favoured parts of London which have hitherto, comparatively speaking, been free from infection, whether they would, with patriotic satisfaction, hail the boon thus gratuitously thrust upon their acceptance, for the exclusive benefit of another portion of the community, or whether they would indignantly reject the same?

Supposing, as a further sanitary precaution in favour of the infected districts, it were proposed to make the various metropolitan grave-yards yield up their mouldering and putrescent contents, and to pile up this festering mass at the threshold of certain buildings in Downing Street, whence have emanated those philanthropic resolves so kindly manifested towards the Colonists of the Cape—what would be the result of such benevolent—of such well meaning intentions? I will tell you. The strongest remonstrances and universal dissatisfaction would be the immediate consequences; and the malecontents, not being strong enough to oppose these obnoxious measures, would, as far as lay in their power, desert their hitherto salubrious and unpolluted abodes; whilst such as had the imprudence to remain might, in all probability, become speedily tainted with the "prevailing epidemic."

I will ask: Would such a scheme as the above be for a moment tolerated, or even listened to? And yet the case in point is perfectly parallel; we are proposing to turn those foul channels, replete with moral filth, from the spot which has given them birth, and to inundate, with their revolting contents, the rural and hitherto uncontaminated pastures of Southern Africa!

What then is the produce likely to ensue from such a "dressing?" I can tell you. A Upas tree will be engendered, whose deadly shadow must inevitably scare away not only future emigration, but likewise drive the actual Settlers at the Cape to follow an example already provoked by the infliction of previous injustice[1]—to abandon their adopted homesteads, and to avoid contamination, by flying for safety to the boundless wilderness!

But to place the picture in another point of view: it is well known what endless trouble has ever been given both to the Colonial inhabitants, and to the military in New South Wales, by the constantly recurring escape of convicts into the interior of the country; where, under the name of "Bush-rangers," they perpetrate the greatest atrocities and most unheard-of crimes; and, whilst plundering

[1] In 1836, thousands of Dutch Boers, driven to desperation by our neglect and coercion, fled in a body across the North Eastern Border.

and murdering in a wholesale manner, frequently elude for years and years the pursuit of justice. Should such evil consequences have attended the absconding of a few *civil* convicts in a part of the world where nought was to be apprehended from any co-operation with the Natives, what results might not be looked for, were a set of "military" felons—desperadoes hardened in every crime, unawed by any consequences—what results might not naturally be expected, were such a set of ruffians—possessed of ever so slight a portion of military knowledge—once to coalesce with and direct the movements of our inveterate and plundering foes, the warlike Kaffirs?

Nor is this an imaginary case. Military deserters have often before now led on our savage enemies in Southern Africa. When Graham's Town was, in 1819, so nearly captured by the Kaffirs, it was generally supposed that they were directed by deserters from our troops. The same thing happened in 1834; and, in the recent affair against the Boers, after the defeat of the latter, deserters were likewise known to have been in their ranks, one of whom we captured, and executed on the spot.

Setting aside, however, the evil consequences likely to ensue from palming convicts on the inhabitants of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope—against their will—the system itself is strongly illustrative of the story of a very humane, though, at the same time,

thrifty husbandman, who, unwilling to crush the snails which overran his own garden, yet, most anxious to get rid of them, made a practice of unceremoniously throwing them over the hedge, into his neighbour's premises.

Exactly such is the projected mode of making away with the moral filth and noxious vermin now infesting this country. Our very refined feelings of humanity preclude us from at once crushing it under foot—but, provided it can be securely stowed away out of sight—no matter at what cost of present injustice, or future evil consequences—it is to be ruthlessly cast—not over the hedge—but over the seas, and graciously tendered as a boon to our distant and helpless dependencies!

"But what on earth," exclaim our embarrassed husbandmen of the State, "what are we to do with that ever-increasing number of convicted felons, with which our hulks and jails now actually overflow?"

Why, if you will not make laws sufficiently stringent to repress crime, you should get rid of your criminals in such a manner, as, in so doing, not to commit a flagrant act of injustice; whilst at the same time the sweepings of your prisons might possibly be turned to some useful purpose.

"How so?" Why, by deporting them as a punishment, not to one of the finest and most healthy parts of the world, but in the shape of a "condemned

military corps," to do duty in those pestilential climes, whither we have hitherto felt no scruple in constantly sending, to an almost certain grave, such numbers of our gallant and devoted tars. Withdraw your floating coffins—hitherto of no avail—from that deadly service on the "coast;" the blockade by sea has hitherto proved an entire failure in putting a stop to the odious traffic in human flesh; go therefore on a new tack, and try—with the aid of your convicted felons—what you can do by land. Provided with such abundant materials[1] as you appear to have in store, hasten to establish forts, posts, and block-houses, at the mouth of the different Rivers, at every accessible point along the whole extent of those poisoned shores, and let the garrisons of these places consist of your newly-organized convicts, under the most stringent military control.[2]

[1] Should all these "materials" not be thus expended, the overplus would no doubt be considered a most acceptable present by our ally the "King of Mosquito," who is said to be very short of hands for the completion of those important works which are to connect the Atlantic and Pacific oceans; crime would thus be usefully turned to the account of commerce and civilization.

[2] It may perhaps be objected to this scheme, that it would be difficult to keep under control a body so constituted; however, the above is merely a rough outline of a suggestion requiring much modification, but for which we find a sort of precedent, in the existence of the late "African Corps," which consisted mostly of military delinquents.

Having thus disposed of the contents of your hulks and jails, destroy not however the last chance which may be left of reforming the guilty; suffer a glimmering of hope—however faint—still to lighten the path of such as may yet wish to turn from the course of evil; but let repentance be shown in sackcloth and ashes, in the most deadly, instead of the most salubrious part of the world!

If, after undergoing a certain period of probation in this earthly purgatory, the convicted felon (civilian or soldier—and now forming part of a military "condemned corps") should give unequivocal signs of reform, then—but not till then—release him by degrees from his thraldom; give him the prospect—however distant—of returning to his home, and of becoming once more a useful member of society.

But how, it may be asked, are these convicts, when embodied, and thus at last likely to be converted into *some* useful purpose—how are they to be organized, officered, and commanded? To the first part of the question, I reply, that the nucleus on which the "condemned corps" should be formed ought to consist of soldiers of that class now so frequently, by sentence of courts-martial, awarded transportation to New South Wales, (or, as recently proposed, to the Cape) and the hope of such a sentence —I may observe by the way—is not unfrequently an inducement to the commission of crimes, to such men as are weary of the service, and see no other

means of escaping, from its—to them—intolerable trammels and restraint.

As regards the question of how officers could be procured for this proposed force, it may be answered: By holding out adequate inducements for them thus to volunteer their services. In the Navy, on the mere prospect of an uncertain chance of promotion, numbers are ever found ready to join the squadron on the coast. Make promotion in this case *certain*, and a *matter of right* to the man who has sufficient enterprise and courage to head this forlorn hope of his profession, and who may be so fortunate as to survive such a campaign, of a certain duration—reward him with rank and honours, for the risks he has run, and for his resolution in grappling with a much more dangerous enemy than any mortal foe; do this, and you will find many volunteers amongst those aspiring and energetic spirits whose prospects of advancement may be otherwise closed from want of either interest or money — those indispensable stepping-stones to promotion in the British Service.

* * * *

The above are mere hasty suggestions hurriedly put together. I would gladly have devoted more time and space to "the Cape Convict Question"—a question of vital importance, not only as regards that Colony, but becoming so in an increased degree, to an infinite ratio, as a precedent involving

the fate of *all* our Colonial possessions. The subject however intrudes itself upon me, as the last proofs of the present work are being corrected for the press; and as neither space, time, nor printers' devils are under control, I must therefore content myself with the above brief, crude, and undigested review of so important a question.

I shall now conclude by requesting indulgence for any repetitions, which may in the ensuing chapters either inadvertently or unavoidably have taken place from my former "Book" on the Cape of Good Hope; and supposing the reader be endowed with sufficient patience to carry him through the present work—should its contents contribute the least to expose, in their true light, the real character and predatory habits of a set of "irreclaimable savages"—to show up certain intriguing and meddling societies—to set forth the many wrongs and sufferings of the Dutch Settlers, and of our fellow-countrymen in this part of the world—I shall, in that case, think my object fully effected—the ends of real "philanthropy" to have been materially promoted, and—with whatever personal detriment they may have been attended—consider as not entirely thrown away these my "Excursions in Southern Africa."

Isle of Wight, November, 1849.

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EXCURSIONS

IN

SOUTHERN AFRICA.

CHAPTER I.

DEPARTURE FROM ENGLAND, AND ARRIVAL AT THE CAPE.

Intelligence from the Cape—Reverses in Kaffirland—Field-officers named for special service—The Author embarks for the Cape—Arrival at Table Bay—Deserted appearance of Cape Town—Inhabitants called on to serve against the Kaffirs—This summons universally responded to—Subsequent ill-treatment of the Native Levies—The garrison of Cape Town—Women and children—Cripples and old men—Impatience to start for the Frontier—Acknowledgment to Lieutenant-Colonel Cloete and Captain Wolfe.

The intelligence from Southern Africa, which reached England about the latter end of July, 1846, rendered it imperative on the authorities at home to take immediate steps for rectifying the apparent errors which had so unexpectedly led to such "untoward events."

Among other measures adopted on the occasion was that of despatching to the scene of action several military officers, "commissioned for the special service

of bringing into discipline and commanding the irregular force already embodied, and also of taking the command of any permanent force of the same description which may hereafter be enrolled, for the defence of the Colony against the irruptions of the Kafirs."[1]

Seven field-officers, from the half-pay list, were accordingly selected for this "special service." I happened to be of the number; and in a few days we all found ourselves embarked—together with a considerable investment of arms, accoutrements, and specie—on board of one of her Majesty's steamers, in Plymouth Sound. On the 10th of August she got under weigh; and we were soon afterwards rapidly progressing towards our intended destination, at the Cape of Good Hope.

No incident worthy of notice marked the progress of our voyage, until towards its close, when a gale of wind, most inopportunely springing up, carried us far to leeward of our port, and compelled us to seek refuge in the magnificent haven of Saldanha Bay.[2]

The gale having abated, we next morning again got up our steam; and in a few hours more—after a pleasant passage of about fifty days—found ourselves safely moored off Cape Town, in Table Bay.

I had, several years before—previously to the Kaffir war of 1835—visited this part of the world. Cape Town then presented the gay, bustling appearance of a populous and flourishing city. Government House was at that time a scene of splendour, hospitality, and festivity: its well-kept gardens and promenades,

[1] See Appendix, at the end of this volume.

[2] See Appendix, containing an account of Saldanha Bay.

enlivened by the frequent performance of an excellent military band, were thronged with visitors; Commerce appeared to flourish; the Exchange was crowded with merchants; and the streets swarmed with a numerous and motley population of all colours, nations, and costumes. In fact, the capital of Southern Africa presented the lively aspect of a large and populous city, where business and pleasure were thoroughly combined.

Great was the change now observable, from what I had remembered on my former visit. Government House looked as if it were crumbling to ruin, and was marked with an air of decay, that seemed likewise to pervade the neglected and deserted wilderness which formerly constituted its noble gardens and pleasure-grounds; and, as the south-easterly wind rushed down the gullies and ravines of Table Mountain, it appeared —so deserted was the scene—to have swept away the whole population of the place; whilst the venerable pine-trees of the "Herren Gracht,[1]" as they bent sullenly to the blast, seemed to groan aloud at the surrounding desolation.

In short, Cape Town, in September, 1846, exhibited but too plainly, by its forlorn and deserted appearance, the baneful consequences of the existing ruinous Kaffir war. The greater portion of its male inhabitants had been hastily armed, embodied, and shipped off for the eastern frontier; and, such was considered the urgent necessity of the case, that men of all casts, hues, trades, and callings, composing its varied population, had been, without distinction, called forth on this momentous

[1] A large square, or parade ground, formed in the centre of Cape Town, and which is surrounded by magnificent pine-trees.

occasion—an embargo being indiscriminately laid, for the defence of the Colony, on the services of every class.

This summons was equally made and responded to, by the substantial Dutch "proprietaire" of the vine-clad slopes of Wynberg and Constantia, and by the opulent English merchant, luxuriating, after the fatigues of the counting-house, at his country-residence of Rondebosch. The slothful Hottentot, rëvelling in the filth of his smoky hut, was aroused from his drunken slumbers; the industrious Malay laid aside his fishing-nets; the Mozambique negro (the "galego" of the Cape) dropped his heavy burden, and grasped the firelock; whilst a corps was even raised, of liberated African slaves, from the distant shores of Angola and the coast of Guinea.

Nor was this appeal to arms limited to the Cape district alone. Every portion of the Colony contributed its quota to the common defence. Even Clanwilliam poured forth its tawny warriors from the neighbourhood of Namaqualand, the far banks of the Orange River, and the remote Kamiesberg Mountains; sending them with little warning, on a march of nearly a thousand miles, to the scene of strife and danger.

Such a sudden call, though at first startling to the peaceful inhabitants of the inland districts, was nevertheless readily replied to; all classes of the Colonists appeared equally willing and anxious to oppose the common foe—a disposition on their part fully deserving of much better treatment than they subsequently experienced at the hands of Government.[1]

[1] "The way in which the burghers and most of the native Levies were treated, when last in the field, has disgusted

Cape Town, at the period above alluded to, might therefore be said to have been completely deserted by all, save women and infants, cripples and old men. Not a single British soldier was to be seen; but their wives and children, to the number of a couple of hundred, occupied the barracks; whilst the fort was garrisoned by a few ragged individuals of every hue, too old and decrepid to take part in the "pomp and circumstance" of the war; armed with weapons which must have been in store from the date of old Van Riebeck's time; and who, on the whole, appeared well qualified to have formed recruits for Falstaff's renowned corps.

Such was the garrison to which was entrusted the safety of the capital; and, with such martial sights before us, it will not be matter of surprise that we felt no little impatience to repair at once to the scene of operations—

> "For then sat Expectation in the air,
> Hiding a sword from hilt unto the point,
> With 'honours, brevets, cattle, and Kaffir scalps,'
> Promised to 'Maitland' and his followers."

However, as arrangements had to be made for our passage to the Eastern Province, and a few preparations were requisite on our part for entering on the ensuing campaign, I shall avail myself of this unavoidable delay, to give the reader a brief sketch of the early history of the Colony, and of its first occupation

them."—From Sir Henry Pottinger's Despatch to Sir George Berkeley. See p. 36 of "Blue Book" for 1848, containing official correspondence relative to the state of the Kaffir tribes. Vide also Mrs. Ward's "Five Years in Kaffirland," vol. ii., pp. 21, 75.

by the Dutch; pointing out, by the way, some of the erroneous statements relative to the Native Tribes, which have long been interestedly propagated, and have unfortunately obtained belief at home, to the no small detriment of the white Colonial inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope, in past as well as in more recent times.

The following condensed information was obtained with considerable labour and research, amidst those ancient and neglected folios (the now almost obsolete works of such old authors as Kolben, Thunberg, Valentyn, Sparmann, Lichtenstein, &c.) which adorn the shelves of the excellent library at Cape Town, and likewise from similar records at the British Museum; and the author takes this opportunity of returning his best acknowledgments to Lieutenant-Colonel Cloete, the Deputy Quarter-Master-General at the Cape, and to Captain Wolfe, the Commandant of Robben Island, who greatly facilitated his researches, by kindly presenting him with some valuable old documents on the subject, which they happened then to have in their possession.

CHAPTER II.

DISCOVERY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, AND ITS FIRST OCCUPATION BY THE DUTCH.

Venice monopolizes the commerce of the East—The mariner's compass—Bartholomew Diaz doubles the Cape—The "Cabo dos Tormentos" and "Cabo de Boa Esperanza"—Rio d'Infante—Character of the Natives misrepresented—Death of Almeida—Kolben—Portuguese revenge—The Cape next visited by the Dutch—The English take formal possession in 1620—Wreck of the Haarlem—"Remonstrance" of Leendart Jantz—Van Riebeck's "Considerations"—He first visits the Cape in 1648—Forms a Settlement there in 1652.

The commerce of the whole of the civilized world may be said, at one period, to have been monopolized by the small, though then powerful, maritime State of Venice; through whose hands, during the fourteenth century, passed overland all the valuable importations of the East. But more precious than gold and pearls, and of more importance than either, was the diminutive and apparently insignificant instrument, brought back from their far Oriental travels by some of her adventurous sons; and whose magic influence was destined shortly to change the whole relations of the habitable portions of our globe.

The "mariner's compass," here alluded to, was—about this period—first introduced in Europe by the Venetians; and shortly after—in the hands of the

Portuguese—inspired by the enterprising genius of Prince Henry—led them to the discovery of the Cape, and of a new ocean-highway to the East; which by depriving Venice of the exclusive monopoly of that trade, dealt so severe a blow to her commercial and maritime greatness; whilst it successively opened the direct means of wealth and grandeur to other nations, heretofore entirely dependant on the Venetian "argosies" for all the luxuries of the East.

After many fruitless attempts, on the part of the Portuguese, to double the southernmost extremity of Africa, that object was at last effected, in 1487, by Bartholomew Diaz; though not without such battling with a tempestuous ocean, as induced him to dub this hitherto inaccessible promontory the "Cabo dos Tormentos," or "Cape of Storms." The Rubicon of navigation being thus passed—from those cloud-capped summits of the Cape—"Hope," pointing out the golden regions of the East, bestowed on her rocky pedestal the more auspicious appellation which it bears to the present day.

Although, as early as the commencement of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese admiral, Rio d'Infante, recommended his government to colonize a portion of the South African coast, situated to the eastward of the Cape, this advice was unheeded; and Portugal appears to have turned to little account the discovery of this part of the world, which was chiefly resorted to by its shipping, for the purpose of obtaining fresh water, during their lengthened voyages to and from the East. But, in effecting this object, the Portuguese navigators occasionally met with such deter-

mined resistance from the natives, as would seem to prove that the latter were not—even at that early period—the "harmless and peaceful race of shepherds" described by some imaginative writers in their poetic accounts of this antipodal Arcadia, ere "polluted by the invading footsteps of the white man." An instance in point is the death of Almeida, the Viceroy of India, who in 1510 was there slain by the natives, as described in the following words of Kolben:[1]—

"And the event was, that one of the men refusing to give a Hottentot a pair of brass buckles he had on, with which the savage was mightily taken, the Hottentot received this refusal as an affront, and made it the foundation of a quarrel, which all the Hottentots present espousing on the side of their countryman, it soon became general; and the Portuguese were attacked with so much fury, that seventy-five of them were laid dead on the shore, among whom was the Viceroy, who was shot through the throat with a poisoned arrow. The rest fled in confusion to their ships, and immediately the whole fleet weighed."

"The Portuguese," continues the same author, "extremely mortified at this disgrace, vowed a smart revenge, which yet they seemed not to look for till two or three years after, when the fleet for the Indies anchoring again at the Cape, they found the art of cajoling the Hottentots; and, knowing their fondness for brass, they carried a large brass cannon ashore, under pretence of making them a present of it. This piece of artillery they had loaded with a number of

[1] A Prussian author, who went out to the Cape in 1705, and resided there several years.

heavy balls, and fastened to the mouth of it two long ropes. The Hottentots, ravished to receive such a weight of their adored metal, and being jealous of no design, laid hold of the two ropes in great numbers, as they were directed, in order to drag it along; and a great body of them being extended in two files all the length of the ropes, and standing cheek by jowl full in the range of the shot, the cannon was suddenly discharged, and a terrible slaughter made of them. Such as had escaped the shot fled up into the country in the wildest consternation, and left the Portuguese to re-embark at their leisure. And from that day to this, it seems, they have dreaded both the touch and the sight of a fire-arm."

It would appear that, deterred either by the opposition of the natives, or by the reports of their cannibal propensities, the Cape was not again visited by Europeans until about the year 1600, when it became frequented, for the purpose of obtaining cattle and water, by the ships belonging to the Dutch East India Company, or, as it was then called, the "far trading Company," who likewise made it a sort of post-office; letters being at stated spots left buried under large stones along the beach; by which means, the Dutch vessels occasionally obtained intelligence of their consorts, whether homeward or outward bound.

The Dutch, having supplanted the Portuguese in the East India trade, continued thus long to monopolize the traffic of the East; but, about the end of the sixteenth century, the spirit of maritime enterprise, then evincing itself in England, soon brought against them into the field more formidable rivals than their late antagonists.

In the year 1620, two vessels, belonging to the English East India Company, touched at the Cape, whose commanders, named Humphrey Fitzherbert and Andreas Shilling, assumed formal possession of the spot, in the name of their sovereign, James I. But no further steps appear to have been taken in the matter by the British Government; and the Cape continued to be indiscriminately frequented, for the purpose of obtaining refreshments, by mariners of all nations—though without any attempt at colonization, or settlement—till the year 1652.

About 1648, a large ship, named the "Haarlem," belonging to the Dutch East India Company, was driven ashore at Table Bay, the crew of which had to remain there several months, before they were relieved by some of the vessels of the same Company returning from Batavia. This detention gave opportunities of observation on the resources and nature of the surrounding country, which were embodied by one Leendart Jantz, in a "Remonstrance," bearing date, "Amsterdam, the 26th of July, 1649;[1] in which is "briefly set forth and explained, the services, advantage, and profit, which would accrue to the chartered East India Company from making a fort and garden at the 'Cabo de Boa Esperance.'"

As to this "Remonstrance" may be traced the first origin of a settlement at the Cape, its substance may not here prove uninteresting. It premises as follows:

"Notwithstanding, honourable sirs, that it is well known to us, that many and divers persons, even

[1] Vide Old Chronicles of the Cape, recorded by Donald Moodie, Esq., R.N.

among those who have several times frequented the Cabo de Boa Esperance, without, however, taking any notice of the situation or fitness of the country, will pretend and say—some, that the place is unsuitable, and, consequently, that the cost—seeing that there is nothing to be had there, except water and a little scurvygrass — would be needless and thrown away; others, that the Honourable Company has forts and places enough, ay, more than too many to provide for, and, therefore, ought not to establish any more; we shall, however, point out to your Honours, as briefly and simply as our poor ability will permit, not only how useful and necessary the formation of the said fort and garden will be, for the preservation of the Company's ships and people, but that the same may be effected without expense, and with profit and gain." Mynheer Jantz proceeds to set forth the various advantages which would accrue to the "Honourable Company," by the establishment of a fort and garden, where fruit and vegetables might be raised for the use of vessels bound to, and returning from India; and likewise fresh provisions be procured by barter with the natives, whom he exonerates from the charge then apparently brought against them, of being "cannibals."

He fully points out the importance of such a settlement, in baffling the attempts of the Spaniards and Portuguese, against the Dutch East India trade. Peace then existed between England and Holland; but he hints that the commerce of the latter might perchance meet with serious interruptions from the "Turk," should he discover and take possession of Table Bay. Allusion was probably here made to the then formid-

able pirates of the coast of Barbary; but this idea appears to have been rather far-fetched, as the Algerine corsairs—though at this time the terror of the Mediterranean—never apparently carried their depredations to such a distance.

The old chronicles of the Cape do not apparently state the specific post occupied by Mynheer Jantz, on board the Haarlem, or what notice was taken by the Dutch East India Company of the above "Remonstrance;" which in June, 1651, was followed by "Further Considerations and Reflections upon some points of the 'Remonstrance,'" presented by Mr. Leendart Jantz, upon the project of establishing at the Cabo de Boa Esperance a fortress and plantation, and whatever more may be there in due time expected, to contribute most to the service of the Company," addressed to the "Honourable the Directors, &c., &c., of the Chamber, Amsterdam," and signed, "Jan Van Riebeck."

Van Riebeck, a surgeon of one of the Company's ships, after having apparently navigated all the then known regions of the globe, had evidently made the most of his opportunities for observation. He had undertaken one or two voyages to Greenland, knew the West Indies, had threaded in every direction the Eastern Seas, from the Cape of Good Hope to Siam, Batavia, China, and Japan; was, moreover, a botanist, naturalist, and philosopher; in short, appears to have been quite the Sir Joseph Banks of his day.

In 1648, he visited the Cape with a return fleet from India; and, as advantage was taken of their arrival to remove as much of the goods of the Haarlem

as could be saved from the wreck, this circumstance gave Van Riebeck the occasion of passing several weeks on shore, of which opportunity he seems fully to have availed himself.

His letter to the Directors of the Company appears to be in substance nearly the same as Jantz's "Remonstrance," except as to his opinion of the natives; who, he says, "are by no means to be trusted, but are a savage set, living without conscience, and therefore the fort should be rendered tolerably defensible; for I have frequently heard from divers persons equally deserving of credit (who have also been there) that our people have been beaten to death by them, without having given the slightest cause."

He further recommends "a sharp look-out to be kept on the proceedings of the English, French, Danes, and particularly on those of the Portuguese," whom he refers to "as always envious of the increase and extension of the Company's power, and as constantly endeavouring to obstruct the same."

For his mistrust of this "savage set" of natives, he was (notwithstanding the misrepresentations of modern "philanthropists") fully justified by subsequent experience; for at their hands—in return for kindness and forbearance—he never met with aught save treachery, murder, and theft.[1] Be this as it may,

[1] To show how false are the accusations of harshness and cruelty towards the natives, brought against the early Dutch settlers, we find in the "Cape Records" the following, among the instructions given, as far back as 1661, for the conduct of those engaged in the proposed settlement at the Cape:—"You will also make inspection near the fort for the land best suited for depasturing and breeding cattle, for which purpose a

we find that in 1651 the Dutch East India Company, with the sanction of their government, equipped an expedition, consisting of three vessels: the Drommedaris, the Reijger, and the yacht Hoep; which in December of the same year left the Texel, under the command of Van Riebeck, with directions for the formation of a settlement[1] at the Cape, in order to provision the Company's fleets according to the plan which had been first suggested by Leendart Jantz; of whom—whether from death or other cause—no further mention is made.

"About the fifth glass of the afternoon watch, on the 5th of April, 1652," says Van Riebeck, in the journal where he daily recorded every notable event, "we got sight, God be praised! of the land of the Cabo de Boa Esperance.

"In the night, the ships Reijger and Hoep closed with the Drommedaris; and, early in the morning of the 6th of April, we were about to steer for Table Bay, but deemed it advisable first to examine whether any enemy's ships lay in the road, as it was suspected that Prince Rupert lay in wait here for the return

good correspondence and intelligence with the natives will be very necessary, in order to reconcile them in time to your customs, and to attach them to you, which must be effected with discretion; above all, taking care that you do not injure them in person, or in the cattle which they keep or bring to you, by which they may be rendered averse from our people, as has appeared in various instances."

[1] The settlement was at first confined to these objects; but, a few years subsequently, we find that portions of land were given on certain conditions to some of the Company's servants, at which period the work of colonization may be said to have commenced.

fleet. About two o'clock in the afternoon they returned, reporting that there were no ships there; we therefore stood on; and, notwithstanding the calm, by the aid of a fine southerly breeze which we got at last, our ship, and the yacht, Goede Hoep, thanks to God! safely anchored after sun-set in the Table Bay, in five fathoms, sandy ground.

Kolben states, that Van Riebeck having safely arrived at the Cape, "the natives were so captivated with the presents he brought them, of brass, toys, beads, tobacco, brandy, &c., and so charmed with his own address and good humour, that a treaty was soon set on foot, and almost as soon concluded; wherein it was agreed that, in consideration of such a quantity of certain toys and commodities to be delivered to the natives as might cost 50,000 guilders, the Dutch should have full liberty to settle there. This was immediately performed; and immediately the Dutch took possession of the Cape, which with a great deal of ceremony was delivered up to them. The traffic of the Dutch with the natives was likewise, by the same treaty, established on a good and solid foundation, with many considerable privileges and regulations for the former."

Having thus established Van Riebeck in possession of his government at the Cape, the author above quoted enters at large into the details of the arrangements and improvements which then subsequently took place, but without adverting to the many difficulties the enterprising founder of the new settlement had in the first instance to overcome; which I shall endeavour as briefly as possible to recapitulate from the accounts given at the time in his own "Journal."

CHAPTER III.

VAN RIEBECK'S FIRST YEAR AT THE CAPE.

Van Riebeck finds letters at the Cape—Horses left there for his use—Herry, or Autshumao—The Ottentoos, or Hottentots—Their wretched condition—The Strandloopers—The Saldanhers and Vishmen—Dutch mediation—Le Vaillant and Narina—Van Riebeck's Proclamation—Conciliatory measures towards the Natives—Beauty and fertility of the country—Sickness in Camp—Privations and misery of the Settlers—Plunder and desertion—Punishments awarded—Jan Blank—His Journal—The Natives return with cattle—System of barter—Hostile dispositions of the Saldanhers—Arrival of the Dutch fleet—Van Riebeck's report.

Van Riebeck's small fleet of discovery had, ere it reached its destination, been nearly five months at sea, and the crews—as was not uncommon in those days—were beginning to feel the effects of so long a voyage; scurvy and other diseases having appeared, and made sad havoc among them. Our navigator's first care, on coming to anchor, was immediately to send a party ashore, for the purpose of procuring a supply of green herbs, and likewise endeavour to obtain some fresh-water fish, from a streamlet which runs into Table Bay. His people succeeded in both these objects, and also found a box of letters left, buried in the sand at an appointed spot, by the Dutch East India Company's fleet; which, having touched

some weeks previously at the Cape on its return to Holland, had likewise landed for the use of the expected settlers a few horses (probably from Batavia); the latter, as stated in the despatches, having been consigned to the charge of an "*Ottentoo*," (Hottentot[1]) named *Herry*.

This Herry, or Harry, whose proper appellation was "Autshumao," and who cuts so conspicuous a figure during the first periods of the Colony, had—from his previous intercourse with the English, and from having performed a voyage to Bantam in one of their vessels—acquired a tolerable knowledge of our language. His services were consequently eagerly secured, as a medium of intercourse between the Dutch and the natives. But, like many of the class of "dragomans," Mr. Herry proved himself in the end an arrant rogue, and was often, during such communications, for purposes of his own, the wilful cause of serious differences and misunderstandings between the Dutch settlers and the "Ottentoos"—for by this appellation were the natives shortly afterwards distinguished.

On his arrival, Van Riebeck found the shores of Table Bay frequented by a small tribe of these all but naked savages, in a miserable state of want and destitution, whose sole means of subsistence consisted in roots, bulbs, and such shell-fish as they succeeded in picking up on the beach, and amongst the adjoining rocks. By the Dutch, these wretched beings were

[1] The appellation of the native tribes then inhabiting this portion of Southern Africa, in common use amongst themselves, appears to have been that of "Quaiquæ." The reason of the appellation of "Ottentoo," or "Hottentot," being bestowed on them by the Dutch, will be given hereafter.

first called "Strandloopers," or frequenters of the shore, for probably the same reason that they were likewise dubbed "Watermen" by Mr. Herry, who informed his employers that this horde—to which he had the honour of appertaining—owned property of no description, or any sheep or cattle whatever—the possession of which was entirely monopolized by another tribe, described by him as inhabiting the neighbourhood of Saldanha Bay. He further stated, that between these "Saldanhers" and the "Strandloopers" there existed a deadly feud; that another people, called "Vishmen," (Bushmen) having only cows, and subsisting by fishing from the rocks, came periodically to Table Bay, after the departure of the Saldanhers; with whom, and likewise with the Strandloopers, these Vishmen were constantly at war; and that robbery and plunder were nearly the sole occupation of their existence.

The first part of this account was fully corroborated the following day; when, on the arrival of a small party of Saldanhers, the Strandloopers, armed with "bows, arrows, and assegaïs," rushed furiously towards them; and it was only through the active mediation of the Dutch on this, as on many subsequent occasions, that bloodshed was averted. These Saldanhers appear to have been a race much superior to that of the Strandloopers; for they are described, in Van Riebeck's Journal, as "handsome, active men, of particularly good stature, dressed, however, in a cow (or ox) hide, tolerably prepared, which they carried gracefully upon one arm, with an air as courageous as any bravo in Holland can carry his cloak on arm or shoulder."

It is, however, difficult to guess at the unsophisticated old Hollander's idea of the standard of perfection, when he calls any of the Hottentot race "handsome;" unless it be, that he considered as beauty that "stern" prominent feature, said to be one of the characteristics of his own nation, and which, if admitted as the model of symmetry, caused perhaps at a later period the French traveller Le Vaillant to describe, as "a younger sister of the Graces," and under the poetical appellation of "Narina," a woolly-headed, greasy Gonaqua girl, with whose sable attractions he was deeply smitten, whilst he fancied his passion to be fully reciprocated by the swarthy object of his adoration![1]

* * * *

Van Riebeck having thus, by timely intervention, brought about a truce, the hostile tribes remained peaceably together near the tents of the settlers, which had been pitched along the margin of the bay. Through the medium of Herry's imperfect interpretership, by signs and gestures, with the addition of a few Dutch and English words, of which the natives appeared to have had some knowledge, (the former having probably been recently acquired from the wrecked crews of the Haarlem and Maurice) a sort of pantomimic intercourse was successfully kept up; and the Saldanhers, on taking their departure, intimated that within a few

[1] The above may be considered as a specimen of Le Vaillant's general inaccuracy of statement. For a detailed account of the peculiar physical conformation of the Hottentot race, the inquisitive reader is referred to the works of Kolben, of Le Vaillant, and of Sir John Barrow.

days they would return, bringing with them cattle and sheep, to barter for copper and tobacco; in which intention they were further encouraged by kind treatment and presents, and being moreover plentifully supplied with food.

To show that, notwithstanding the most calumnious allegations to the contrary, this kind, (though no doubt interested) treatment on the part of the Dutch was from the earliest periods of the settlement strictly enforced towards the natives, the following portions of a Proclamation dated so far back as the 9th of April, 1652—three days after Van Riebeck's arrival—is here extracted from his Journal.

"Jan van Riebeck, senior merchant, and on behalf of the Directors of the, &c., Company, commander over their fortress to be constructed, ships, and concerns, also over their possessions to be selected at the Cabo de Boa Esperance, and his council, makes known:

"That, as we have been ordered by the said Directors, with the help of the ships Drommedaris, Reijger, and Hoep, thereto employed, to build at the said Cape such fortress and fortifications as shall be found necessary for the protection of the possessions to be taken;

"And as such new undertaking should be conducted with great caution, particularly as regards the wild people of that country, (they being very impudent) and especially great care be taken that we be in every respect on our guard and in a posture of defence, also that no cause of offence may be given by us or our men to that people; but, on the contrary, that all kindness and friendship be shown to them, in order

that by our amicable conduct they may become inclined to an intercourse with us, so that by this means we may have the greater supply of all kinds of cattle, and suffer the less molestation from them in the plantations, &c., which we are there to cultivate and to rear for the supply of the Company's passing and repassing ships, the chief object, in the first instance, of our honourable masters, and what further may in time be sought for the service of the Company.

"So it is that we, for the prevention of all mischief in the promotion of the said affairs, as well as for the maintenance of good order and discipline among the common people, who think little of remote consequences, have deemed it highly necessary, as by resolution 8th of April, 1652, to enact the following articles for that purpose, and after consideration and approval of the council, to publish them, together with some portions of the general articles at the proper place.

"And as these wild tribes are somewhat bold, thievish, and not at all to be trusted, each shall take good care that his arms and working tools, or whatever he be placed in charge of, be well taken care of, that they may not be stolen from him by the savages, as we by no means, nor upon any consideration, desire that they should on account of such theft, excepting with our previous knowledge and consent, be pursued, beaten, ay, even be looked upon with anger; but each shall have his stolen arms or tools charged against his wages, as a penalty, and for his carelessness receive fifty lashes at the whipping-post, and forfeit his rations of wine for eight days, or such other severer punish-

ment as the exigency of the case may demand. And accordingly whoever ill-uses, beats, or pushes any of the natives, be he in the right or in the wrong, shall in their presence be punished with fifty lashes; that they may thus see that such is against our will, and that we are disposed to correspond with them in all kindness and friendship, in accordance with the orders and the object of our employers. Wherefore, the sentries and other guards are thus expressly ordered to assist in this; or otherwise, upon their suffering any injury to be done to the savages in their sight, they shall be liable to the same punishment as the actual offenders.

"To this end, all persons whomsoever are seriously exhorted, and ordered to show them every friendship and kindness, that they may in time, through our courteous behaviour, become the sooner acccustomed to us, and attached to us, so that we may thus attain the object of our employers; provided at the same time that every one be well on his guard, without going so far among them, or trusting them so far, that they may get any of our people into their power, and massacre or carry them off.

* * * *

"Whoever transgresses in other particulars not herein inserted, shall be punished according to the General Articles, and the exigency of the case.

"And that no one may have cause to pretend ignorance, we have caused these and some sections of the General Articles to be read to the people on board of all the ships of the squadron, and also caused the same to be affixed at the proper place upon a post erected

for the purpose. Thus done in full council, in the ship Drommedaris, the 9th of April, 1652.

"JAN VAN RIEBECK."

The promises of the Saldanhers to return in a few days with sheep and cattle greatly raised the hopes of the settlers, whose fresh provisions were confined to the produce of their fishing, and to the wild herbs they collected near the shore; which, after the privations of so long a voyage, were most eagerly sought for, and converted by them to culinary purposes.

About three weeks after the arrival of the expedition, a loose plank shed was completed, which, with a few tents, served as temporary habitations for Van Riebeck and his followers, who then busily commenced the erection of a fort for their more permanent residence and protection.

Reconnoitring parties were sent out in the immediate neighbourhood, behind Table Mountain. The forests with which this part of the country was then covered were explored; quantities of game, such as "harts, steenbocks, elands, &c.," were seen. A hippopotamus was killed, and served out as food for the crews; and all appeared delighted with the genial climate, the beauty and fertility of the soil, "watered," says Van Riebeck, "by streams as fine as could be desired; and, were it occupied by thousands of Chinese, or other farmers, they could not cultivate the tenth part of it. It is so rich that nothing can equal it; neither Formosa, which I have seen, nor New Netherlands, which I have heard of."

Van Riebeck, however, expresses his disappointment at the non-arrival of the Saldanhers with their

cattle; the only inhabitants of this Hesperian clime being a few wretched "Strandloopers, who brought with them," says he, "nothing but lean bodies and hungry bellies;" articles not likely to be in great request by men engaged on constant hard and laborious work; who began themselves to feel the sharp cravings of want, and over whom disease was then beginning to shake her palsied hand.

Five weeks had elapsed since the arrival of the Settlers; it was now the middle of June—the winter of these Southern regions—and which appears that year to have set in with unusual severity; (for we find that Van Riebeck makes mention of *ice* being seen at the foot of Table Mountain) still no sign of the Saldanhers with the expected cattle—the extent of barter having as yet been one "lean cow and a calf." Sickness, an unusual occurrence in this fine climate—brought on by the recent privations of a long voyage, followed by exposure, hard work, and unwholesome food—was moreover taking such rapid strides, that at last only fifty men were left to carry on the work at the fort; and even these enjoyed but indifferent health. "The rest," says Van Riebeck, "lying sick with dysentery, *persing*, and severe fevers, for whom very little can be done as to regimen, except with a little wine and vegetables, which begin to grow from our Dutch seed."

During the three or four ensuing months, the infant Colony had still ever-increasing difficulties to contend with, besides hardships and privations of every description; for, whilst famine and sickness stared the poor exiles in the face, clouds of locusts ravaged the crops and gardens; tempests tore up the young planta-

tions, and laid prostrate their frail embryo dwellings. Such were their trials by day; whilst, during the darkness of the night, between fitful gusts of the raging storm—the roar of hungry lions, the plaintive cry of the hyæna, and demoniac yells from troops of congregated jackalls—were the dismal sounds echoed in frightful chorus from the mountain's side; sounds, which too often formed the last sad anthem, raised over many a poor expiring wretch. Lured by the scent of death, these grim midnight visitants prowled fearlessly through the camp, amongst the tents and sheds; whose helpless occupants could often—on the lowly, fevered, and sleepless couch—feel the hot carrion breath which rankly steamed through the canvass rents, and crevices of those frail planks, forming their sole protection from a living grave.[1]

Days and weeks thus wore slowly into months, which likewise dragged on their weary length, bringing succour neither by sea nor land; for, to the straining eyes of this forlorn and desolate crew, not a sail e'er loomed over the far watery horizon, nor was the fluttering of a single "kaross,"[2] or the dusty track of cattle, to be discerned amidst the distant sand-hills along the bay, or the wild, barren heaths beyond. In addition to their difficulties and distress, Table Bay

[1] "This night it appeared as if the lions would take the fort by storm, that they might get at the sheep. They made a fearful noise, as if they would destroy all within, but in vain, for they could not climb the walls . . . . worked lustily at raising them higher, that we may care as little for the English," &c.—From Van Riebeck's Journal, January 23, 1653.

[2] The "kaross" is the cloak of dressed hide, forming the usual garment of the native tribes of South Africa.

was found—at this season of the year—a most insecure anchorage for the ships; the nets, by means of which they had hitherto supplied themselves with fish, had of late become quite worn out; discontent began rapidly to spread among the crews; and this mutinous disposition, on their part, was shortly followed by attempts at plunder, and of desertion from the Settlement.

Van Riebeck had in short to contend with all those vexatious trials to which Columbus, Bartholomew Diaz, and other early discoverers and explorers of unknown regions, have ever been exposed. His courage and strength of mind continued, nevertheless, unshaken to the last; he bravely faced the storm; kept a steady hand on the wheel of government of his infant state; nor, in all his difficulties, does he for a single moment appear to have given way to despondency or despair.

In order to obtain tidings of the Saldanhers, and to procure provisions of some description, his smallest vessel, called the Good Hope, was despatched on several exploring expeditions to Saldanha Bay, and likewise to Dassen and Robben Islands; whence she always succeeded in bringing back, for the use of the Settlement, considerable supplies of seals, penguins, or sea-birds' eggs; which, though with their oily and rank fishy flavour, perhaps not very palatable to an epicurean taste, were nevertheless eagerly received, and greedily devoured by his starving crews. Having thus provided for their immediate wants, Van Riebeck's next endeavour was, by appointing a provost-marshal, and instituting summary and immediate punishment, to repress that mutinous disposition and irregular con-

duct, which appear at this time to have crept in amongst his people; who, not content with committing thefts on each other, had commenced plundering the Company's stores, and robbing the public gardens of their crops.

A spirit of desertion, which might have still more seriously affected the future prospects of the infant Colony, now—as before observed—likewise manifested itself among the new Settlers; four of whom, towards the latter end of September, clandestinely left the Cape, with the intention, it afterwards appeared, of reaching by land the Portuguese Settlement at Mozambique, and thence endeavouring to procure a passage to Europe. In a few days however hunger forced them to return, and give themselves unconditionally up; when, although deemed advisable to remit the sentence of death awarded for their offence, it is recorded that they were condemned to work as slaves for two years, in irons; whilst their leader, Jan Blank, was moreover "keel-hauled," and received, besides, a corporal punishment of 150 lashes. It is perhaps worthy of remark, that the said Jan Blank—the first European traveller in Southern Africa—should likewise have been the first to hand down to posterity a written account of his adventures in this part of the world. The following curious relation of this, his ill-fated expedition, written in *red chalk*, was found upon him at the time of his surrender:—

"In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.

"September 24. In the evening set out from the Kaap de Boa Esperance, directing our course to Mozambique, four of us, Jan Verdouk of Vlaanderen,

Willem Huytgens of Maastricht, Gerrit Dirkse of Maastricht, and Jan Blank of Meehelen, having with us four biscuits, and fish; God grant us success on the journey! also four swords, two pistols, and the dog.

" September 25. This evening marched seven mylen; saw two rhinoceroses, which advanced upon us, intending to destroy us. Jan Verdouk was obliged to leave behind his hat and sword; a little before, our dog ran at a porcupine, by which he was so wounded in the neck that we thought he would die; took our rest to-night by a rivulet, in God's name; saw also two ostriches; obliged to leave ditto again, because of two rhinoceroses that came towards us; then we chose the beach; after we had gone two mylen, we made our camp in the first of the sand hills.

" September 26. This morning again set out on our journey; chose the coast to the Kaap Aquillas; marched about seven mylen; our first food was four young birds who lay in the nest, and three eggs; encamped on the beach, where we got some limpets.

" September 27. Went along the beach about seven mylen; came in the evening to a very high mountain close to the sea, which we must over; therefore rested at the foot until

" September 28. And provided ourselves with limpets to take with us over the mountain, which we prepared, strung on lines and dried, and also with calabashes to carry water.

" September 29. Setting out in the morning, intending to get over this corner, but, not being well able to do so, Jan Verdouk and Willem Huytgens began to repent, but went on.

"September 30. Notwithstanding, until the afternoon of next day, when Gerrit also was knocked up, and for me, I could not make a dance of it alone, therefore resolved to return to the fort, in hopes of mercy and grace in God's name."

How many subsequent explorers of Southern Africa would have done well to imitate this concise and unvarnished statement; and how many whom we could mention, (present company always excepted) have richly merited the punishment of poor Van Blank, for wilfully "deserting," in their lengthened narratives, the paths of rectitude and truth![1]

* * * *

Upwards of six months had elapsed since the arrival of the expedition in Table Bay; and affairs began now to assume, with the infant Colony, a most gloomy aspect. In consequence of the non-appearance of the return fleet from India, from which relief had been confidently expected, it was concluded to have probably made for St. Helena, without touching at the Cape. Sickness still prevailed; the remaining stock of bread and flour was fast decreasing, and even hope itself began to fail: great, therefore, was the joy of Van Riebeck and his followers, when at length, about the middle of October, a few strange Hottentots were seen approaching the fort; and who through the interpreter Herry gave intimation of the vicinity of their tribe, provided, as they stated, with abundance of sheep and

[1] This remark chiefly applies to those religio-political travellers, who—from whatever motives—have so long misled the British public, relative to the state of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

cattle; which, they further gave the Settlers to understand, would readily be bartered for tobacco and brass.

It now appeared, according to Herry's statement, that numerous Tribes, coming from the direction of Saldanha Bay, made an annual practice of thus periodically visiting this part of the country; when, after consuming the pasturage about Table Mountain, they formed a circuit to the east, through the district at present known as Hottentot's Holland; and thence returned to their own country, or rather to that point whence they had taken their departure; for their homes appeared to be (like those of many of the interior Tribes of the present day) wherever pasture was to be found, and where they were unopposed by more powerful Tribes or Nations than themselves.

The expected natives shortly arrived, bringing in their train innumerable herds and flocks. The barren heath, extending between Table Mountain and Simon's Bay—hitherto an unoccupied and desert tract—suddenly teemed with animated life; the green valleys and wooded "kloofs" of the mountain now re-echoed to the lowing of browsing kine; and the Settlement soon presented, in every way, all the stir and bustle of a great English cattle-fair. Determined to enforce that conciliatory system towards the Natives which has been before adverted to, Van Riebeck, on the arrival of the Saldanhers, immediately issued the following Proclamation, dated October 14th, 1652; and which will still further tend to disprove those oft-alleged and so long accredited accusations of cruelty and oppression, already mentioned, as having been so unjustly

brought forth against the first, as well as all the subsequent Colonists in Southern Africa.

"Whereas, some inhabitants of Saldanha are now beginning to appear hereabouts, who are somewhat bold and thievish, and not at all to be trusted, and are, besides, very covetous of iron and copper, every one is therefore warned by these presents, and expressly ordered to keep a good watch upon his arms and tools, as spades, shovels, picks, hoes, &c., so that they be not stolen or carried off from him, on pain of their being charged to his account, and one hundred lashes besides, or heavier punishment, according to the exigency of the case; as we, by no means, nor for any consideration in the world, desire that any harm be done to these Tribes by any of our people, or that, upon their stealing or carrying away any thing, they are, on that account, to be pursued, or looked upon angrily, but by every friendly behaviour rendered familiar and well-inclined towards us, in order, by this means, the better to come into a more intimate acquaintance and intercourse with them, as also to find an opportunity of asking and inquiring what may in time be found among or near them, whether by way of traffic or otherwise, for the advantage of our masters.

"Therefore, every one whomsoever, whether officer, or common soldier, or sailor, whatever his rank or quality, and whether belonging to the ships or to the land-force, is expressly ordered not to cause to the said inhabitants any the slightest molestation, annoyance, or provocation, or he shall be punished for the same in their presence.

"And, also, that no one shall, without our know-

ledge and consent, purchase or barter any thing; but every article found among them, be it musk, civet, ivory, cattle, sheep, or whatever it may, shall be brought to us, in order to be by us purchased for the Company, on pain of forfeiture of the article purchased, and arbitrary punishment, according to the exigency of the case, &c.

"JAN VAN RIEBECK."

Through the medium of Mr. Herry, (who played the part both of broker and interpreter) an active system of barter and traffic now took place, on terms which were probably considered equally advantageous by both parties; for we find that the price established for a cow was usually "two small plates of copper, or one large plate;" whilst "sheep were generally bought for as much tobacco, or thin copper wire, as the sheep —tail included—measured in length."

The Saldanhers, however, incited, as was then supposed, and subsequently fully proved, by the traitor Herry, (said to be more favourably inclined towards the English, than to his actual benefactors and employers) shortly began to show less eagerness for the wares in question. Encouraged by the mistaken lenity enjoined in the before-mentioned Proclamation, (and the consequences of which ill-judged line of policy have so often been displayed, with the same results, in subsequent intercourse with the natives) they committed innumerable thefts of property, accompanied even with personal violence towards the Settlers, whenever an opportunity of so doing presented itself.

Towards the latter end of February, 1653, the Saldanhers (who of late had shown such hostile dispo-

sitions, that considerable armed parties of the Dutch were deemed necessary to traffic in safety at their "kraals") finally took their departure in an easterly direction, after having disposed of a hundred and thirty head of cattle, and three hundred and fifty sheep. This supply was the more acceptable, as the provisions brought by the expedition were by this time completely exhausted, and with no hopes of being replaced until the arrival of the homeward-bound fleet from Batavia; which, to the inexpressible satisfaction of Van Riebeck, appeared in sight on the 1st of March; and, after having furnished the Settlement with bread, flour, and other requisites, received in return, fresh water, meat, and vegetables, and again took its departure for Europe, on the 15th of April, 1653.

By this opportunity, Van Riebeck sent an account of his first year's proceedings at the new Settlement, with which he appears then to have been so thoroughly disgusted, that he thus terminates his despatch:—

"I will now, to conclude, most humbly, respectfully, and earnestly, pray, that your honours will think of removing me hence to India, and to some better and higher employment, in order that, in due time, and in consideration of better services than I can render here, I may earn promotion; for, among these dull, stupid, (*batte, plompe*) lazy, stinking people, little address (*subtylteyt*) is required, as among the Japanese, Tonquinese, and other precise nations thereabouts, who, as I have sufficiently experienced in my ten years' service, give enough to do to the brains of the cleverest Dutchman; and here there is nothing to be done, except to barter a few sheep and cattle, in which little

address is required; and whether there is any thing to be done in ostrich feathers, musk, or any thing else, I shall have sufficiently ascertained, between this time and the receipt of your honours' answer; and should I then see my successor, I shall be able to give him such good instructions, after the experience I shall have gained upon all points connected with your service, that he will be as well qualified to take charge as myself; and, as you have done me the honour, in all your letters, to entitle me Commander, (for which I am very thankful) I would still respectfully request that (should my conduct have given you any satisfaction) you would be pleased to honour me with that rank, as also with the usual emolument of a hundred and fifty guilders *per mensem*, thereto appertaining, under a written instrument, *in debita formâ*, in order that I may produce it, on my arrival in India; for otherwise the title would tend to nothing but contempt, for being now entitled Commander, and hereafter arriving in India, being looked on only as a merchant; and, to say a few words more, I would gladly bind myself to remain in India, with that quality and pay, for three years beyond my first engagement: and awaiting the pleasing intelligence of my removal to India, for the purpose above stated, I shall hold myself fully rewarded and satisfied for the services which I have done here to the utmost of my ability; hoping that, on reaching India, through your favour, I shall render you services of somewhat more importance than I have here a field for, &c.

"J. VAN RIEBECK.

"In the Fort the Goede Hoep,
"14th of April, 1653."

CHAPTER IV.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE NATIVE TRIBES, IN VAN RIEBECK'S TIME.

Disappointment of Van Riebeck—His zeal and perseverance—The Strandloopers—"Vishmen," or Bushmen—The Saldanhers—Mr. Herry, the interpreter—The Quaiquæ race—The Hottentot and the Chaplain—Influence of Herry—Importance of herds and flocks—Warfare among the Tribes—The great Chobona nation—A golden region—Dutch expeditions of discovery—Monomotopa—The Hottentots of old, and those of the present day.

"Inhumanity and cruelty form a leading feature in the character of almost all tribes in a savage state."—From the Rev. Dr. Philips' "South African Researches," vol. ii., p. 146.

We left Van Riebeck lamenting his unhappy fate at being cast amongst the "dull, stinking" race of Hottentots; and anxiously applying to be sent on to the East, that his talents might there find a wider field; whilst sustained by the sole hope of seeing such a change speedily realized. But long and vainly did he cherish this fond wish, and lay so flattering an unction to his soul. The oft-renewed petitions to be relieved from this post were disregarded by the Dutch East India Company; whilst his frequent applications—demanding men, horses, provisions, stores, and other requisites for a newly established Settlement—were by them invariably treated with coolness and neglect. Still zealously performing his duty towards such un-

grateful employers, he continued for ten long years—through censure and obloquy—perseveringly working for their advantage, and the improvement of the infant Colony at the Cape.

During this period, he had, however, contrary to his prognostications, plenty to employ both body and mind; and he soon found to his cost, that the "dull, stupid" Hottentots, as he was pleased to call them, could give—although mere savages, and in the very lowest and most brutalized state of degradation—by their innate knavery and cunning, probably as much to do "for the brains of the cleverest Dutchman," as if he had been amongst his former diplomatic and astute friends, the Japanese and Tonquinese.

Allusion has already been made to those wretched beings found by the Dutch on their first arrival at the Cape, and called by them, from the peculiarity of their mode of existence, "Strandloopers," or, as the interpreter, "Autshumao," alias "Herry," termed his tribe: "Watermans." It has also been remarked that this worthy—besides the "Caepmans" and the above—at first only mentioned his knowledge of another robber horde, which he termed Vishman, (Bushmen) and of that people so rich in cattle, whom he stated as coming from the neighbourhood of Saldanha Bay—who, as has been seen—made their appearance about six months after the formation of the Settlement, and were consequently by the Dutch termed "Saldanhers."

On the first discovery of hitherto unknown regions, confusion and misapprehension unavoidably take place as to the real denomination of the various native hordes occupying such countries; more especially as in the

present instance, when those tribes consist of rude uncivilized barbarians, having nothing in common with Europeans, and moreover possessing scarcely any medium of comprehensible intercourse; an observation applying in its fullest extent to the natives, with whom the Dutch Settlers came in contact on their first arrival in Southern Africa. The name of the chief seems here often to have been mistaken for, or confounded with, that of the horde—nicknames arising from any particular occurrence or circumstance were not unfrequently applied, which still continued in force long after the real appellation had been ascertained. In short, with no other channel of communication, save Mr. Herry—whose interest it was to prevent them from obtaining any sort of information—the Dutch in Southern Africa, for a length of time, groped about, as it were, in the dark. And it was only when two or three other natives, who—by picking up a smattering of the Dutch language—were enabled to break through Herry's monopoly of interpretership, and that some of the Settlers themselves had learned a few Hottentot words, that they began to see their way with any sort of distinctness.

It is therefore not surprising if the new comers should for some time have remained ignorant of the native appellation of the various tribes, with whom they first became acquainted; and that of "Ottentoo," or Hottentot, appears to have been somewhat gratuitously bestowed by them, on the rude savages they found on their arrival, at the Southern extremity of Africa. Subsequent investigation discovers no trace of such a denomination among the natives themselves, whose generic

name would seem to have been "Quaiquæ;"[1] whilst the numerous hordes into which this extended race was subdivided, were severally known as the "Cochoquas," the "Chorachouquas," the "Hancumquas," &c. The term "Hottentot" has probably been applied, according to a late writer, from the peculiar idiom of their language, which is much broken, full of monosyllables, uttered with strong aspirations from the chest, and a guttural articulation, equally disagreeable to listen to, as it is difficult to acquire. "It is as if one heard nothing from them but *hot* and *tot*. So it is not without reason that it has been said of them, that they cluck[2] like turkeys."

Kolben, who gives a rather far-fetched version of a tradition, ascribing to the Hottentots a knowledge of their descent from Noah—after quoting the "Sieur" Merklin, Dapper, Father Tachard, and other comparatively ancient authors—contradicts the assertion of Arnold, that the term of "Hottentot" was a nickname given to the native tribes, from their constantly singing "Hottentottum Broqua," and further gives the following anecdote illustrative of this national song.

"The origin of this phrase, and of the custom of singing and pronouncing it frequently in their mirthful

[1] Probably from the word "Khuai," or "Quai," which in their language denoted a peculiarity in the conformation of the Hottentot race. See Arbousset and Daumas, p. 241; also Kolben, Barrow, and Le Vaillant, on this subject.

[2] In allusion to the extraordinary sound called the "click," which they emit in pronouncing their words, produced by pressing the tongue against the palate of the mouth. The Hottentot language is now extinct, but this "click" has been to a certain extent adopted by the Kaffirs.

assemblies, was this: The chaplain of a Dutch ship sent a Hottentot upon an errand, and promised, if the Hottentot should discharge it well, to reward him with a huge piece of Dutch bread, or a certain quantity of tobacco. The Hottentot, having duly executed his commission, demanded of the chaplain the performance of his promise: but he, it seems, had so little conscience, that he utterly refused to give him any satisfaction. The poor fellow communicating this abuse to his countrymen, among whom, ignorant and wretched as they are, all improbity is abhorred, they instantly, in detestation and derision of the chaplain, composed, after their manner, a song on him, in which the words 'Hottentottum Brocqua,' signifying, give the Hottentot his hire, are often repeated. This song quickly obtained all over the country, where every one was made acquainted with the chaplain's knavery; to perpetuate the memory of which, and to caution one another against the wiles and circumventions of strangers, this song was sung when any strangers came within sight or hearing of them, as it is often at this day."

But, be the generic name or not originally that of Hottentot, or Quaiquæ; this peculiar race—with all its ramifications, such as the Obiquas, Soaquas, or Bushmen, the Namaquas and Korannas—was similar in all its general attributes; and whether or not, as some have imagined, of Coptic derivation, and the aboriginal inhabitants of Eastern and Southern Africa; or, as others have argued, of Chinese extraction—(for in many respects—civilization always excepted—the Hottentot possesses, to a considerable degree, the charac-

teristic features and attributes of the ancient Egyptians as well as those of the Chinese)[1] it occupied, at the period alluded to, the extensive intermediate tract of country lying beyond the Kye and the mouth of the Gariep, or Great Orange River; including the whole of that portion of the peninsula running on the western coast to the 28th, and eastward to the 33rd degree of south latitude; though it cannot be ascertained how much further to the northward the Quaiquæ race then extended, or where and when it came in contact with the Bechuana tribes.

Ere the Dutch had obtained any correct information relative to their new allies, Herry had found ample time to turn his talents to account; for to the office of interpreter adding that of broker, and being also bribed by both parties, he soon managed so to enrich himself, as to become the lawful—or unlawful—possessor of herds and flocks, and at last acquired such predominant influence, that he was now generally known by the name of "King Herry."[2] This influence he employed exclusively to the advancement of his own interests, and totally regardless of those of his benefactors; for, whilst kindly and hospitably entertained

[1] The Chinese are by some considered to be of Egyptian origin. Sesostris is said to have extended his conquests beyond India; but it must ever remain a matter of speculation—(supposing this theory to have any foundation) whether Southern Africa were colonized overland from the north-east, or by some stray Chinese junk, cast on its shores, by the storms or currents of the Eastern Ocean.

[2] Herry was subsequently superseded in his office of interpreter by his niece, "Crotoa," called by the Dutch, "Eva;" who plays a conspicuous part in the subsequent transactions of that period.

at the Settlement, and a constant guest at the table of its commander, where, as Van Riebeck quaintly remarks, "he ever had his bellyful of meat and drink," he was—as afterwards came to light—continually engaged in concocting plots and intrigues against the Dutch; in keeping aloof many of the native tribes, by circulating evil reports concerning his employers; and only encouraging such of the former, as gave him the highest bribes for carrying on their barter in cattle.

This acquisition of cattle was, in order to supply their East India fleets, the chief object of the Dutch Settlement at the Cape; for, properly speaking, "colonization" was not attempted for some years subsequently to this date. Cattle, the only riches or property of the natives—in fact, the only "current" coin of the country—was then, for the above purpose, the paramount object of possession with the Dutch; who began by degrees to attach the same value to, and have the same sort of veneration for, "lowing kine"—for "beeves" and bullocks—as that which was entertained by the Hottentots themselves; a feeling which, transmitted from generation to generation, is now, in all Southern Africa, as prevalent with the Colonist as with the native tribes of the present day. In this, in many respects, still primitive portion of the globe, and more particularly towards the eastern frontier, herds and flocks are still—as in the patriarchal times of Abraham and Lot—considered by all classes as the chief objects of life; and to mankind, of infinitely more importance and value than mankind itself. If a new district be plundered by Kaffirs, the first question is not "how many farmers have been butchered, or houses burned?"

but "how many head of cattle have been lost?" After a successful engagement with the foe, the interrogation is not "how many of those ferocious banditti have been slain?" but "how many head of cattle have been captured, and when, and how, are they to be distributed?"

To the honour, however, of the border Colonists be it said—notwithstanding the many calumnious assertions to the contrary—(and in spite of their Egyptian propensities to worship the god Apis) they have ever scrupulously—unless in retributive warfare—avoided helping themselves from the "kraals" of their barbarous neighbours; and could as much be said in favour of the latter, those never ceasing wars, which for the last fifty years have constantly desolated, and still continue at stated intervals to devastate, this fine colony, would, in all probability, have never occurred.

But, to return to the Hottentots, (the robber Kaffirs of Van Riebeck's time) it would be useless to weary the reader with minute details concerning the ever-varying relations of the Dutch, with all the different tribes, with whom, at that remote period, they were constantly brought into contact.

In spite of Mr. Herry's continued endeavours to keep them in ignorance, they however gradually discovered that the country immediately contiguous to the Cape was at most times frequented by two weak and indigent hordes—the "Strandloopers," to the west, whose proper appellation was "Choeringaina," or "Goeningayqua;" whilst the "Goringaycona," (at first called "Caepman" by the Dutch) under their "fat captain, Gogosa," wandered about the "Gulf of

Falso," now more generally known as Simon's Bay. Other more powerful and warlike tribes from the interior, to whom the Dutch long gave the general name of Saldanhers, were, as before remarked, in the habit, at stated periods, of depasturing their herds and flocks at the foot of Table Mountain; when, to avoid spoliation and destruction, the first-mentioned hordes generally dispersed themselves far and wide, or sought refuge amidst its rocky fastnesses.

In speaking of the appellations of the various tribes of "Quaiquæ," (or, as the Dutch denominated them, Hottentots) it may be remarked that they generally terminate in the syllable "qua," which, like the Bechuana, prefix "ama," would seem to imply a tribe, nation, or plurality of individuals. Thus, we meet with the *Ama*tombæ, the *Ama*kosæ, and the *Ama*pondæ among the Kaffirs; while the Dutch, by degrees, found their "Saldanhers" to consist of "Hancumquas," "Cochoquas," "Oengayquas," with a variety of other hordes; and, in their exploratory expeditions into the interior, they at last even came in contact with the Namaquas, likewise a Hottentot nation, usually located on the far borders of what is now called the Orange River.

Though apparently of common origin, the different tribes into which the Quaiquæ nation were then divided seem, in those early times, to have been among themselves in a constant state of feud and deadly warfare; and the whole race characterized in common by the same brutal and degraded habits of filth, sloth, bestial gluttony, cruelty, and love of plunder. Without any cultivated ground, or fixed places of residence

or abode, they wandered at large over the face of the land. The more powerful hordes, such as the Cochoquas, Hancumquas, and Charigriquas, scoured the country, as much in quest of plunder as of pasturage for their cattle. In these nomadic, and at the same time predatory expeditions, they mercilessly destroyed the weaker tribes whom they chanced to encounter; viz., the Soaquas, the Goringaycona, and the Choeringaina. On these occasions, the latter only found safety in vigilance and flight; and, not daring to possess property of any description themselves, were generally reduced to the wretched alternative of supporting their precarious existence on bulbs and roots, the larvæ of insects, or shell-fish gathered from the rocks on the sea-side.

In short, this region, so favoured by Nature, presented in those olden times the identical scenes of bloodshed and horror—of wholesale destruction and destitution—repeated to the latest moment of the present day, by the Matabeles, the Mantattees, the Fetcani, the Zoolahs, and other savage tribes of the far interior; still rejoicing—according to the doctrines of Exeter Hall—in all the Arcadian felicity of unsophisticated nature; and as yet uninterrupted in its primitive enjoyments by the corrupting influence, the tyrannical encroachments, and oppressive cruelty of the "white man."

On examining the authenticated early records of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, we find the Strandloopers at deadly enmity with the Saldanhers; and both manifesting the same amiable disposition towards "Vishman," who, whenever he fell into the power of

either, was mercilessly slain, and neither women nor children were ever spared. Nay, in their bloody feuds, the Hottentots—according to their own statement—carried barbarity to such a pitch, as not even to admit of description in these pages.[1]

These three tribes were the first with whom the Dutch appear to have had intercourse after their arrival. The Strandloopers, as has already been observed, were the natives they then found in occupation of the shores of the Bay. The Saldanhers, so called, or rather miscalled, because they came from the direction of Saldanha Bay, appear—judging from the long intervals between their periodical visits—to have annually migrated from a much more northerly point; perhaps from the neighbourhood of the Kamiesberg mountains. Or some of them might have even formed a portion of the "Great Namaqua" nation, driven from their parched and sandy deserts, by the burning heat and long summer droughts of that inhospitable clime, to the verdant pastures and clear gurgling streams at the foot of the Table Mountain.[2] However, from whatever part of the coast they may have come, that they were of a common stock with the Strandloopers appears evident; for, although described as "bolder and livelier men," they are said to have spoken the same language, and worn the same clothing as the latter.

[1] See "Van Riebeck's Journal," for June 20, 1659, at p. 192 of the "Authenticated Records of the Cape."

[2] See, in corroboration of this opinion, the account of Pieter Meerhoff's expedition from the Cape in 1661, as related in Moodie's "Authenticated Records of the Cape of Good Hope."

Lastly, the Vishmans, (or Bushmen)—so called by Herry, but whose native appellation was that of "Obiquas," or "Soaquas," were, from their (more than common) plundering propensities, regarded by the two former clans as outlawed banditti, and, moreover, the objects of their peculiar enmity and aversion.

I have alluded to the exploratory excursions undertaken into the interior by the Dutch. In the prosecution of these expeditions, they were chiefly incited by the hope of discovering mines of metallic ore, and of opening a trade with a great nation called "Chobona," whom the Hottentots represented as inhabiting stone dwellings, as being ruled by a powerful king residing in a large city, called Monomotopa, and, moreover, possessed of unbounded wealth and riches, among which both gold and precious stones might be enumerated.

These native romances—backed by the statements of a certain German priest, named Martinus Martiny, who came from Batavia to the Cape, and had apparently, in the course of his wanderings, visited the Portuguese Settlements on the eastern coast of the Mozambique—excited to the last degree the cupidity and spirit of enterprise of the Dutch. Their sanguine hopes of being able to open commercial relations with the inhabitants of this supposed region—which, Van Riebeck observed, "many maintain to be the true Ophir whence Solomon imported his gold"—were moreover raised by the inspection of Linschoten's map of Africa; in which towns, lakes, and rivers appeared —as in many modern charts—liberally sprinkled over that part of the world; most of which probably never

existed, save in the fertile imagination of this old geographer; whose chart, published at Amsterdam in 1623, may still be seen in the Dessinian collection at Cape Town.

Though thus misled, the deception had the advantage of causing more attempts by the early Settlers at inland discovery, in quest of this Emperor of Monomotopa, (a phantom species of "Prester John")[1] and his imaginary kingdom and capital, than were ever made for many subsequent years; but notwithstanding repeated attempts, the Colonists were ever disappointed in the main object of their enterprises. These were nevertheless attended by the advantage of dispelling some of the fables invented by Mr. Herry and his associates, and making them acquainted with the real state of the surrounding Hottentot tribes, whose information about the Chobona and the "Great City" had probably reference to the Bechuanas, and to the far inland, though now well-known town of Latakoo.

To show the precise views entertained by the Dutch in undertaking these expeditions, the following extracts are given from a memorandum issued on the subject, by Van Riebeck, bearing date February 14th, 1659, for the guidance of the "free amateurs and adventurers about to set out of their own free will into the

[1] "Prester John" was an imaginary Christian potentate, who, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was supposed to rule over some very undefined part of Central Africa or Asia; and in quest of whom several travellers of those days spent many years in vain. The real origin of the fable of Prester John may probably be traced to Christianity being then, as it is now, prevalent in some of the remote parts of Abyssinia,—See Sir Cornwallis Harris's account of his Mission there.

interior, to seek for other people, cities, or places, or whatever may be found.

"But, before coming to those points, we shall inform you of the names of the tribes of this country, at least in so far as we know them with certainty, and begin with this Cape people (natie), of which Herry is exiled, so that there are now hereabouts only the Watermans, skulking among Caepmans' tribe—called Goringhouna, or Goringhaiqua, of whom the fat Captain Gogosa, who is well known to you all, is the chief. Next are the Gorachouqua, alias Gorachouna, the tobacco thieves; and which two tribes stay in this neighbourhood, because they dare not go near the true Saldanhers, who consist chiefly of the Cochoquas, whom the Ensign lately visited with some of you, consisting of two unusually powerful tribes, and pastoral governments, under the chiefs Ngs .... [the MS. is here decayed]; the Khomaiquas, likewise rich in cattle, residing near the Cochoquas, and on good terms with them; who would, as Eva states, be the best guides to the Namanas, whom we would like to seek in the first instance; they live in stone houses, as you, as well as we ourselves, have heard from her and others. But, as it is doubtful whether these would be willing to conduct you to that people, we would deem it advisable that you should first go to the westward of the Leopard's Berg, on the Saldanha road, to the Hosomaas, being the little Charigurinas, or Charigwriquas, that they may conduct you to the great Charigwriquas, who, according to all our intelligence, have at least a knowledge of the Namanas, or Namaquas, and can conduct, or at least show, you the way thither.

The Namana, as you have yourselves heard, is the ruler over all this Hottentoo race, living in stone houses, with walls black on the inside, clothed in dressed white skins—they in time will be able to conduct us to the Chobona, who has an authority over this Cape people still superior to that of Namana, very rich in gold, and where it is supposed..... [MS. decayed]: as soon as you have found any people in permanent dwellings, and have learnt that they will be able to direct you to other tribes, we shall leave it to your own discretion whether you will travel further, or turn back from the Namana; but you should contrive, at all events, to induce some of those who live in fixed abodes, or in cities, to come here, that we may give them a kind reception, to encourage them..... should nothing particular be found among these Namanas, we should think it well to go on to the Chobona, or to the city Monomotopa, where the emperor lives, the country rich in gold, on the said river Spirito Santo; hoping that you will be prudent and observant, keeping correct notes of everything, and taking care:

"Firstly, as soon as you cross the first river, to begin to set your course by the compass, and to note down how many hours and half-hours, more or less, you travel on each course, in the form used at sea, so that a map may be formed, for the information of our masters in Fatherland: this must on no account be neglected ..... [MS. decayed] where any mineral shows itself from which silver or gold could be extracted; also noticing whether the roads can be travelled with waggons; naming some remarkable places;

asking the names of tribes, of the chiefs, and the cities, so that they may be known hereafter.

"Thirdly. On falling in with any people, you must notice how they subsist themselves, to what chiefs they are subject, their clothing, occupations, religion, dwellings, fortifications; what articles they are most desirous of; whether they have among them honey, wax, ostrich feathers, ivory, silver, gold, pearls, tortoise-shell, musk, civet, amber, fine skins, or anything else.

"Fourthly. What useful fruits, or roots, the country produces; and, should you touch on the sea coast, to notice the bays and rivers which discharge themselves into the sea; in what direction they extend; whether there are means of getting water and refreshments; if there are oysters, pearl mussels, or tortoise-shell fit for combs or other work.

"Fifthly. The numbers of the inhabitants with whom they are engaged in alliance, or in hostilities, especially ..... [MS. decayed.]

"Sixthly. How they are disposed towards our nation; whether they are cruel or friendly; whether they have any reasonable policy: and that you may know exactly how to make your observations in writing, we give you for your information a copy of a specimen of reports, drawn up by our masters, ... and wishing you a fortunate journey under the guidance of the Most High," &c.

* * * * *

Some of these expeditions, headed by "the experienced amateur adventurers:" Pieter Meerhoff, Lieutenant Cruse, and other Bruces and Mungo Parks of that time, were frequently for months together absent

from the Cape, and succeeded in penetrating on one side nearly as far as the Orange river, and on the other beyond the present district of George; whilst several voyages of research were undertaken along the eastern and western coasts. But it is needless to say that neither the discovery of the Emperor of Monomotopa, that of the Ophir of Solomon, nor the then much-talked-of St. Helena Nova,[1] rewarded their hardships and labours either by sea or land.

These hardy navigators, however, in small vessels of from twenty to fifty tons—though at the expense of several shipwrecks—boldly skirting, as far as the tropics, both the western and eastern coasts, appear to have then—or a very few years after—acquired nearly as complete a knowledge of those shores as we possess at the present day. They had besides, on more than one occasion, the satisfaction of saving, and bringing back in safety to the Cape, the crews of vessels wrecked along the shores of Delagoa, Natal, and the country near the mouth of the River Kye:[2] the latter territory, which is now in the possession of the Kaffirs, being then occupied by the Quaiquæ, or Hottentot race.

It would appear that the rough-spun mariners of the olden time were either more venturesome, more ignorant of danger, or more fearless of its consequences, than the scientific navigators of the present day; for it was then (towards the latter end of the seventeenth century) no unusual event for English vessels of not

[1] An imaginary "Isola Fortunata," which long continued to haunt the imagination of the navigators of old.

[2] See Kolben's account of the Cape, (1705) vol. i., p. 78. London edition, 1738.

above fifty or sixty tons burthen to double the Cape; cruise up the dangerous Channel of the Mozambique, in quest of gold, ivory, or slaves; and then, in such small skiffs, to carry their hapless living freights across the whole length and breadth of the Atlantic, even to our sugar islands in the West Indies.

It is uncertain how far, in those days, the Hottentot race extended towards the north-east; but, as nearly a hundred years subsequently, the Kaffirs do not appear to have encroached upon them beyond the boundary of the Kye, it is not a matter of surprise that none of the "amateur adventurers" by land should have then fallen in with that ferocious race—a race to this day more truly barbarous and savage than even that of the Hottentots of old.

In these expeditions of barter and discovery, accompanied as they then were—and as people still to this day continue to be, whilst travelling in Southern Africa—by cumbrous waggons and large teams of oxen, which must have greatly impeded their progress; the travellers, generally speaking, experienced little opposition from the natives, who were always too happy to exchange their sheep and cattle, for beads, tobacco, and brass. In the course of their wanderings, the Dutch became gradually acquainted not only with numerous hordes of Hottentots, similar to those at the Cape; but likewise with a few varieties of the same race, such as the Namaquas, the Soaquas, or Obiquas—a sort of professional banditti—and also with a tribe, who, although possessed of many Quaiquæ characteristics, were of pigmy dimensions—if possible, more brutalized in their habits, and led a far more wretched state of existence

than the latter—and, in short, were found to be the very outcasts, or Pariahs of Hottentotism. This miserable race of beings, from their mode of life being so similar to that of the beasts of the field, received from the Dutch, even at this remote period, the expressive appellation of "Bosjesmans." They were neither more nor less than the progenitors of those modern "Bushmen," (concerning whose origin such falsehoods and fables have of late years been set afloat[1]) who are considered by some authors as descendants from the Troglodytes mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, and the real aborigines of Southern Africa.

"This nation," say Arbousset and Daumas, "is composed of a considerable number of different people, independent of one another, and scattered over the whole valley of the Orange, from the embouchure of that river on the shores of the Atlantic to its sources in the Malutis.' Some Bushmen are also to be found beyond these mountains, on the land of Dingan, and up even to the country of Mozelekatse, on the north, where, ten or twelve years ago, many of them became, it is said, the prey of the black cannibals. It is a race of natives frequently met with amongst the Caffers and Bechuanas; with these, however, they have neither

[1] According to the "Exeter Hall" doctrines, the Bushmen were not formerly a distinct people, for some of the Missionaries have pronounced them to be the *remains* of the Hottentot race, which, say these veracious gentlemen, has been nearly extirpated by European barbarity and oppression. There appears to be a degree of uncertainty as to the identity of the Soaquas, or "banditti," with the "Pigmy" race here alluded to, but of the existence of the latter at that period, there remains not now the slightest doubt.

sympathies nor transactions of any kind. On the contrary, nowhere do they enjoy full freedom, but in the country of the Namaquas, where they are most numerous. Would not the fact of the dispersion of this race amongst the different tribes of the Caffers warrant us in supposing that it was once sole possessor of all the countries of South Africa, and that the Caffers have taken by conquest from this people what they now inhabit?"

So much mawkish affectation of feeling and philanthropy—such a degree of mistaken sympathy has of late years been elicited in favour of the "ill-used and oppressed" native tribes of Southern Africa; and this, moreover, at the expense and to the detriment of the Dutch Colonists, and of our fellow-countrymen more recently settled in that part of the world—it has besides been so generally the approved fashion, ever since the time of Le Vaillant and Barrow, (who were the first to set the example), for many subsequent authors to descant on the Arcadian and pastoral state of primitive felicity in which the Dutch (according to their accounts) found the "unoffending, mild, and gentle race of Quaiquæ;" to extol in such extravagant terms the virtues and qualities of these, and of the modern Hottentots, that I feel bound — after having attentively read much that has been written on this topic, and from the opportunities I have had of personal observation of the latter people—to portray in the following chapters, in what I consider their true colours, the Hottentot of the time of Van Riebeck, and the "Totty"[1] of the present day.

[1] The colonial abbreviation of the word Hottentot.

CHAPTER V.

THE QUAIQUÆ, OR HOTTENTOTS OF OLD.

Gibbon's opinion of the Hottentot race—Their degraded condition—Ignorance of a Supreme Being—Alleged worship of the Moon—Form of government—Marriage ceremonies—Love of kindred—Arms and barbarous system of warfare—Their filthy habits—Van Riebeck's doublet—Their descent from Abraham—Picture of a Hottentot dandy—Costume of a Hottentot lady—Their festivities—"National intoxication."

Barrow, who has been quoted oftener than he perhaps deserves, as a standard authority on every thing relating to Southern Africa, says, in reference to the appellation of "Hottentot," that it is a word which has no place, or meaning, in their language. It is, however, now of little importance if the generic name of the barbarous hordes frequenting the southern extremity of Africa, at the period of the first arrival of the Dutch, were that of Quaiquæ, or Hottentot. Whether the latter be, as some authors assert, a "nickname" or otherwise, they have been universally known to Europeans by this appellation; which has become (and, as far as the original possessors of it were concerned, perhaps justly so) a by-word, denoting all that is most debasing to humane nature; for verily, as the historian Gibbon somewhere remarks, the Hot-

tentots of old appeared to form the connecting link between the human species and the brute creation:[1] but, as Le Vaillant and some other pseudo-philanthropist writers—advocates, like Jean Jacques Rousseau, of a savage state of existence—aver the contrary, I shall endeavour to prove that the above opinion of the author of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" rests on abundantly sufficient grounds.

It has been most mistakenly asserted that all nations, however uncivilized, entertain the belief of a Supreme Being and of a future state. Nothing more strongly rebuts this assumption than the universal ignorance of, or disbelief in both, entertained even to the present day, by the various barbarous hordes who still tenant those regions of Southern Africa, which continue beyond the sway of colonization. Such are the Kaffirs, the Korannas, and the Bushmen; who, spite of the falsely-asserted success of missionary labour, are still in a state of most brutalized ignorance, as regards Religion, or worship of any description.

"All blacks whom I have known are Atheists," says a recent author, who had many opportunities and long experience, to enable him to judge of the present state of the native tribes;[2] and the Hottentot of the days of Van Riebeck was, according to Father Tachard, to Boeving, and other old writers on the Cape, in the

[1] The Obiquæ, or Soaquas, or Vishmans of old—the Bosjesmans, or Bushmen, of the present day—were, and are still, lower in the scale of humanity than even the Hottentots.

[2] See the "Narrative of an Exploratory Tour to the North-East of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope," by Messrs. Arbousset and Daumas (p. 39).

same lamentable state of spiritual ignorance or unbelief: and, although—if we are to credit missionary reports—the "Totties" of the present day have, thanks to the exertions of those worthy gentlemen, (who lose no opportunity of trumpeting forth their own praise) become good and worthy members of the Church—there is more than reason to suspect that the amount of their Christianity consists in that innate love of idleness, and a lazy, useless state of existence—which they so fully enjoy at those establishments formed by their "soi-disant" spiritual instructors; such as Bethelsdorp, the Kat River Settlement, &c.

Although the Hottentots of old appear to have been without religious creed, or belief of any sort, they had, in common with other African savages, many superstitious observances. Kolben says that they paid the greatest deference to a "certain insect;" and there can be no doubt of their also placing implicit credence—like the modern Kaffirs—in the mysterious agency of witchcraft. They are likewise said to have entertained some belief in an evil spirit, whom they propitiated by sacrifices; and the "Andersmacken,"[1] or ceremonies they generally observed at the full of the moon, has led many to suppose it constituted an object of their worship. Boeving on this subject says: "'Tis well known there is a common opinion

[1] A term borrowed by the Hottentots from the Dutch. The rejoicing and festivities which take place at the full of the moon appear to have been universal among the African tribes—a custom followed to the present day by the Bushmen, the Korannas, and the Fingoes. Mungo Park noticed the same peculiarities, in his African travels to the north of the Equator.

received among travellers, and by others living among and in the neighbourhood of the Hottentots, that these people adore the moon, and that they celebrate her worship with acclamations, invocations, and dancings, throughout whole nights, in the open fields. Most of the Hottentots deny this; affirming, that their dancing, shouting, or singing, in the open fields, in the night, is only for diversion, and to please themselves, without the least intention to invoke or adore the moon, or any deity whatsoever." Kolben remarks on the above, that "Boeving was abused in this matter. Few Hottentots, as I have said, will, if they can help it, disclose the least article or ceremony of their religion to an European."

So much for the religious observances of the Quaiquæ. Their form of government appears to have been much the same as that of the Kaffirs of the present day—consisting of hereditary chieftains of tribes, who ruled by the aid and advice of their counsellors, or learned men; whilst every kraal had its captain, as well as its witch-doctor, or physician. Without stopping to inquire into the most prominent of their habits and domestic customs, we shall merely take a passing glance at the same. To commence with them from their birth: if the parents of a newly-born child found him or her *de trop*, the poor little wretch was either mercilessly buried alive, or exposed in a thicket, there to be devoured by beasts of prey; but, if suffered to exist, its first taste of the "sweets" of life consisted in being well anointed with cow-dung, and then smeared over with melted grease — these being the universal cosmetics

then, and still, in constant use among the refined natives of Southern Africa.[1]

The following quaint detail of a Hottentot "accouchement," extracted from old Van Riebeck's Journal, may perhaps be considered novel, if not amusing: "Yesterday, a Hottentot's wife was delivered of a child by the side of a river, under some branches thrown on each other, without help of woman, or man, like a brute beast, instantly smearing the child over with cow-dung, and thus making it black; it was otherwise, like the mother, about as white as a dark-coloured young Jew: without swathing it with anything, she immediately put it into a skin at the breast; both father and mother were begging of us . . . . . We gave them some bread and tobacco, and a glass of wine, upon which they went away to their hut in the country, in high spirits, and at a good pace, in no way protected from wind or rain."

Thus, from the very moment of his birth, how nearly did the Hottentot of old approximate to the brute creation! And how fully justified does not Gibbon appear to be in his remark, that he is the connecting link between mankind and the beasts of the field!

At the risk of being considered prolix, I give a few more extracts relating to the customs of this extraornary people; and trust I shall be the more readily forgiven, as the information thus conveyed may perhaps be novel to the greater portion of my readers, having

[1] To this day, the Kaffirs perform their ablutions with cow-dung, and anoint their bodies with a mixture of red clay and grease.

been derived from old musty folios, whose venerable and mouldering remains are now seldom disturbed by the student of the present day. The next ceremony after the birth of a Hottentot infant—that of naming the child—is thus described by Kolben: "Presently after the cleansing of the child with cow-dung, anointing it with sheep's fat, or butter melted, and powdering it with buchu, in the manner that has been related, the child is named. The name is given to it by the mother, unless the disorder which sometimes follows the drinking of the decotion I have mentioned, for forwarding the birth, renders her incapable of that office, and then 'tis done by the father. And here, as I have already observed, in another place, they imitate the old Troglodytes, by giving their children the names of favourite beasts. Some are called Hacqua,[1] *i.e.*, horse; others, Gamman, *i.e.*, lion; others, Ghoudie, *i.e.*, sheep; others, Guacha, *i.e.*, ass; others, T'kamma, *i.e.*, hart," &c.

Polygamy appears to have been prevalent with the original tribes of Hottentots, and the author above quoted enters into all the minutiæ of their marriage-ceremonies. As these details, however, would not be deemed admissable in this refined and fastidious age, the reader who may wish for information on such an interesting subject is referred to the pages of the old Prussian author,[2] who moreover records the following praiseworthy trait in relation to Hottentot marriages:

[1] As the horse was not indigenous to Southern Africa, this word was most probably derived from the Portuguese "haca"—*Anglice*, a small horse (or hackney ?)

[2] Vide Kolben, London edition, 1738, vol. i., chapters xii., xiii., xiv.

"The men look not for fortunes, or great alliances, by marriage. All they have their eyes upon, in the choice of their wives, is wit, beauty, or agreeableness. So that it sometimes happens the daughter of a poor, obscure fellow, is married to the captain of a kraal, or the chief of a nation."[1]

In common with the Kaffirs of the present day, the Quaiquæ tribes appear to have held in the utmost abhorrence all matrimonial alliances between near kindred and connexions; which circumstance certainly does not tend to strengthen the belief of an Egyptian origin.

Among the few good qualities which the Quaiquæ have transmitted to their descendants, may be reckoned the most affectionate regard for their friends and relatives; and whilst an avowed enemy was treated with the greatest barbarity, towards their kindred and the members of their own tribe they ever manifested considerable kindness and generosity; which feelings were even extended on many occasions towards such strangers as might lay claim to their hospitality, by visiting their kraals.

The Quaiquæ were a nomadic people: agriculture —if we except the cultivation of the intoxicating "dacha," or hemp plant—was entirely unknown, or disregarded. The wild bulbs, which grow in such profusion at the Cape, often served them as food; but their chief dependence was placed on their herds and flocks; for throughout Southern Africa in those times, as at the present day, cattle apparently constituted

[1] The circumstance of a niece of the interpreter Herry being married to a chief of one of the most powerful tribes is thus accounted for.

wealth, to obtain possession of which the most bloody feuds then—as now—too often occurred.

Their arms consisted chiefly of bows and poisoned arrows,[1] of javelins and clubs (called, by the Dutch, assegaïs, kirries, and rackum-sticks). During a campaign, pack-oxen transported their slender commissariat, whilst "war-bullocks," called "backeleyers," were trained to take a part in the fight, often, it is said, with great execution. In their predatory forays, the women and children, when not put to death, were carried off into endless captivity. The men, if taken, were always mercilessly exterminated; and the spirit of cruelty appears—in common with other African savages—to have been with them so innate, that we find it predominate even in the mode of slaughtering their sheep and oxen: the unfortunate animal being held on its back, ripped up, and disembowelled, whilst alive; that these unfeeling savages might gratify their bestial gluttony, by lapping, like wolves or jackalls—without the loss of a drop—the warm and reeking life-blood of their victim; which was, says the old chronicles, "laded out in pots" from the living carcase; whilst the smoking and still quivering entrails were torn asunder, greedily devoured, and naught escaped their ghoul-like voracity, save the contents of the latter, together with the animal's hide.

Whenever the culinary art was put into requisition for the preparation of their food, it was fully on a par with the barbarous manner in which the viands them-

[1] The poison thus used was generally extracted from the milky plants of the Euphorbia; from gums, the leaves of certain bulbs, and likewise from venomous serpents.

selves were procured for these revolting feasts; and this we find applicable even to the Hottentots of a much more recent date. "Having," says Barrow, "cut from the animal a large steak, they enter one edge with the knife, and passing it round in a spiral manner, till they come to the middle, they produce a string of meat two or three yards in length. The whole animal is presently cut into such strings; and, while some are employed in this business, and in suspending them on the branches of the shrubbery, others are broiling the strings, coiled round, and laid upon the ashes. When the meat is just warmed through, they grasp it in both hands, and, applying one end of the string to the mouth, soon get through a yard of flesh. The ashes of the green wood that adhere to the meat serve as a substitute for salt. As soon as a string of meat has passed through their hands, they are cleaned by rubbing over different parts of their body. Grease, thus applied from time to time, and accumulating, perhaps, for a whole year, sometimes melting by the side of a large fire, and catching up dust and dirt, covers, at length, the surface of the body with a thick black coating, that entirely conceals the real natural colour of the skin. This is discoverable only on the face and hands, which they keep somewhat cleaner than the other parts of the body, by rubbing them with the dung of cattle. This takes up the grease, upon which water would have no effect."

The above author, who is a great advocate of the Hottentot race, and, like Le Vaillant, appears rather to admire Hottentot manners and customs—including, apparently, that of anointing themselves with cow-

dung and grease—goes so far as to quote Scripture in favour of the latter habit; and gravely says: "The oil that ran so profusely down Aaron's beard, even to the skirts of his garment, was in all probability animal fat;" and adduces this—as an additional recommendation—to be a sure specific against "elephantiasis," and likewise against cutaneous disorders of every description!

It is difficult to say what effect an embrace from the unctuous and patriarchal old Israelite might have had on the philosophical Secretary of Lord Macartney; but one thing is certain, that Mynheer Jan Van Riebeck sadly complained of having had a new doublet spoiled, from a similar manifestation of affection on the part of a dandy Hottentot chief. The circumstance is thus distinctly alluded to, in his Journal of the 7th of April, 1654: "Coming a little nearer," says Van Riebeck, "we found the passage very well occupied by about thirty active fellows, their skins and cloaks thrown off, and entirely naked, without the least encumbrance in the world, well provided with assagays, and bows and arrows; on coming yet nearer, to take a look at their encampment, we held out the hand to them with a friendly gesture, on which some instantly knew us, and came on, kissing their hands, and giving us the hand also, and we embraced each other, like the greatest friends in the world; so that we had again a suit of clothes destroyed, from the greasiness of the oil and filth with which they, and in particular the greatest among them, had so besmeared themselves, that they shone like looking-glasses in the sun, the fat trickling down from their heads and along their

whole bodies, which appeared to be their greatest mark of distinction."

Kolben, to strengthen his theory of their supposed descent from Abraham, advances the following assertions, which, if founded on fact, are certainly most remarkable:

"The Hottentots have traditionary laws, forbidding the eating of certain meats, which they accordingly abstain from very carefully. Swine's flesh, and fishes that have no scales, are forbidden to both sexes. The eating of hares and rabbits is forbidden to the men, but not to the women. The pure blood of beasts and the flesh of the whole are forbidden to the women, but not to the men. The Book of Leviticus will show the reader what a support those laws give to what I have said upon the origin of the Hottentots."

But I must, ere I conclude this chapter, complete my picture of the "Quaiquæ," by giving the following sketch of a Hottentot "exquisite" of two hundred years ago, and which might continue equally applicable up to the commencement of the present century.

In addition to this liberal unction of cow-dung and animal fat, such as piqued themselves particularly on their personal appearance were carefully "baghou'd," or smeared over with a sort of reddish clay. Their hair, or rather the woolly covering of their heads, was elaborately crisped into small tufts, resembling knots of black worsted, about the size of a marrowfat pea; whilst the usual articles of dress consisted, for the men, in a leather belt, from which was suspended behind, a piece of sheepskin, cut into the shape of an isosceles triangle, and gracefully swaying to and fro with the

movements of the wearer; whilst in front dangled a bag made of undressed skin, with the hair outwards; which garment—probably in reference to the animal from which it was taken—Le Vaillant quaintly calls their "jackall."

As to this latter strange appendage, Barrow most appropriately remarks: "If the real intent of it was the promotion of decency, it would seem that the Hottentot has widely missed his aim, as it is certainly one of the most immodest objects, in such a situation as he places it, that could have been contrived." With respect to the "isosceles triangle," he observes: "This contrivance is no better covering than the other; for when he walks quickly, or musters up a running pace, it flies from one side to the other, and flaps backwards and forwards in such a manner, as to conceal no particular part. This, indeed, does not seem to serve the purpose exactly for which it has been contrived. Nature having given to most animals a tail, to fan themselves in hot weather, and to lash away troublesome insects, and having left the Hottentot without one, he has adopted an artificial one, to answer the same end. These constitute the whole of their summer dress. A great beau will probably fasten a bracelet of beads, or a ring of copper, round his wrist, but such are, more properly, ornaments belonging to the other sex."

Thus accoutred and adorned, with his bow and arrows, or bundle of assegaïs, in his hand—in cold weather, with an ox-hide kaross over his shoulder—behold a real specimen of the Hottentot of yore, who, if thus for "contemplation and valour formed," enjoyed,

in his mate, one no less fashioned in her degree "to softness, meek, and sweet attractive grace;" for though, unlike Eve, she could not exactly boast of "golden tresses veiling her slender waist," she possessed, for this purpose, the substitute of a leathern apron, cut into numerous thongs, or strings. This scanty garment, together with a dried sheepskin, entirely covering the hinder portion of her person, from the waist to the middle of the leg, constituted the principal part of her wardrobe. The heads of the Hottentot women, like those of their lords and masters, are generally without any other covering, save those gifts of an all-bountiful Nature—the short, woolly patches already alluded to. An innate love of finery, however, caused them—after the arrival of the Dutch had afforded the means of procuring such ornaments—to decorate themselves most profusely with necklaces, armlets, and anklets of glass beads; which were likewise distributed over those parts of their scanty dress as would admit of such embellishment.

After describing the more than bestial gluttony and voracity characterizing the Hottentot race, it will not be a matter of surprise to find these qualities fully equalled by their propensity for intoxication—a habit which, even before the arrival of the Dutch, was frequently carried to excess, in using the "dacha;" a plant, whose powerful fumes inhaled like those of "bhang," in India, has the property—similar to opium— of exciting to madness and frenzy, and subsequently stupifying, to the last degree of insensibility, such as place themselves under its pernicious influence. A fermented drink, composed of honey with certain bulbous roots; and producing,

when partaken of to excess, nearly the same effect as our stimulating liquors, appears likewise to have been much in request with them. But, after having once tasted European spirits, both these stimulants fell with the Hottentots into utter disrepute; and urged by their natural propensity for drink, no sacrifice was considered too great to obtain this article, as well as tobacco.

After a successful barter of cattle, or other particular occasion, it seems to have been the custom of the Dutch, as a wind-up of the transaction, and an encouragement to future traffic, to give their customers and allies a farewell repast. An account of one of these "banquets," from the oft-quoted "Journal" of Van Riebeck, may perhaps be found worthy of perusal.

"May 6th, 1660. This morning, before the sermon, the said chiefs of the Gorackouquas, and their train, were presented, in return for their gift, with brass, beads, tobacco, and pipes, of more than double the value of their said thirteen cattle; and, after service, they were entertained with food and drink; and a tub of brandy and arrack, mixed, was set open in the middle of the esplanade of the fort, with a little wooden bowl, from which those people made themselves so drunk, that they made the strangest antics in the world, with singing, dancing, leaping, and other wild pranks; one falling down drunk after the other, whom those who were still a little passable carried out of the fort, and laid on the grass to sleep; all but the said chief, who kept himself somewhat decent, being not above half-drunk, and three or four of the oldest of his people; but even of these, some could not resist dancing; and

the women sang and clapped their hands so loud, that they might be heard a hundred and fifty roods from the fort; so that they seemed to be holding, after their own fashion, a great triumphal rejoicing for peace."

The above scene, with Van Riebeck in the background, mounted—as he is described by some old author—on his "big, chesnut horse;" the sturdy and phlegmatic Dutch soldiers, armed with their long matchlocks, in the quaint and formal costume of the day, quietly smoking their meerschaums, and looking on unmoved at the scene; but keeping all the while a sharp eye on the lately purchased herds and flocks, and the rest of their goods and chattels; would have formed an inimitable picture, worthy of the characteristic pencil of Hogarth.

Captain Marryat ironically remarks, that there is "something grand in a national intoxication:" if so, the Hottentots ought indeed as a nation to be considered great; for to the present time every one of them would, each and every day of his life, get drunk, if he had only the means of so doing.

Though these scenes of debauchery always occurred, whenever, during their visits at the fort, the opportunity was afforded them; still, however intoxicated they might be, they generally managed to purloin something or other from their entertainers; for, drunk or sober, this propensity to theft was, in the Hottentot, quite irresistible; and so prominently on them was the bump of appropriation developed, that no sense of gratitude for past favours, or fear of punishment on detection, could keep this people from "picking and stealing;" and, to their shame be it said, that "lying,"

if not "slandering," was with them an equally prevailing vice.

So much for the Hottentots of the good olden times: nor can it be matter of surprise if the first Governor of the Cape—after having been, against his will, kept in such select company for more than ten years of his life—should joyfully have hailed the arrival of the vessel bringing out his successor; and which, on the 7th of May, 1662, bore Van Riebeck and his fortunes—not back to his fatherland—but to the remote eastern Settlement of Batavia.

PRIMITIVE HOTTENTOTS.

FROM AN OLD PRINT IN KOLBEN'S WORK.

CHAPTER VI.

EXTRACTS FROM VAN RIEBECK'S JOURNAL.[1]

Van Riebeck's difficulties—Herry the interpreter—His conduct, and exile to Robben Island—Crotoa, or Eva—Van Riebeck's despatch of April 9, 1662—Unsuccessful expedition in search of the Namaquas—Van Riebeck succeeded by Commander Van Wagenaar—Memorandum left for the guidance of his successor, containing a detailed account of the Native Tribes, with various other relevant matter—List of Governors of the Cape of Good Hope, from Van Riebeck's time.

It is not intended in these pages to give a connected history of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Such an undertaking would greatly exceed the limits of this work, and probably afford little interest or amusement to the majority of its readers. Having already furnished a general outline of the different Native Tribes inhabiting the Peninsula, on the first settlement of the Dutch; I propose, after briefly ad-

[1] The contents of the following chapter—for nearly the whole of which the author is indebted to the labours of Lieutenant Donald Moodie, R.N., the able compiler and translator of the "Cape Records"—might by some be perhaps considered as better placed in an Appendix. It has however been inserted here, in order to break as little as possible the thread of the narrative; and may, at will, be entirely passed over, by such as take little interest in the account of a set of savage tribes, with a string of names equally barbarous and unpronounceable.

verting to the occurrences which took place immediately subsequent to that event, to furnish a short notice of the descendants of those races, inhabiting the Colony at the present day, or still wandering on the limits of its northern boundary.

It was not till after repeated applications for his recall, and a most unwilling residence of ten years at the Cape of Good Hope, that a successor was at last sent out to relieve Van Riebeck from the arduous and onerous duties of his government there. The great services he had rendered during that period appear to have been but indifferently acknowledged, or requited, by the then all-powerful Directors of the Dutch East India Company.

Like all other founders of Settlements amongst uncivilized nations, Van Riebeck had, from his first arrival in the proposed new Colony, innumerable difficulties, both of an internal and external nature, wherewith to contend. His resources were ever extremely limited, and he was most charily furnished by his niggardly employers, with men, horses, and supplies, which appear to have been the objects of constant, though, generally speaking, unsuccessful applications on his part; whilst, in his transactions with the Natives, he had to deal with a treacherous and crafty set of savages, always ready to plunder, or commit violence, whenever an opportunity of so doing with impunity occurred; and in carrying on an intercourse with whom he was long at the mercy of his unprincipled interpreter, Autshumao, or "King Herry," as this person was more commonly called.

Mr. Herry's repeated delinquencies appear, at

last, to have exhausted even the patience of the phlegmatic Dutchman. As a punishment for many acts of treachery, he was finally consigned to captivity on the barren rock of Robben Island, which has ever since been regarded as the penal settlement of the Cape; whilst, in his office of interpreter, he was ably succeeded by his niece, Crotoa; who, brought up from childhood in Van Riebeck's family, under the name of "Eva," had acquired a thorough knowledge of the Dutch language. Her sister was married to Oedasoa, one of the most powerful chiefs of the Saldanhers; and through this connexion she was the means of rendering the most important services to her employers, and the infant Colony at large.

The following extracts from Van Riebeck's Journal,[1] with the instructions left to his successor, Governor Van Wagenaar, will probably give a better insight into the then actual state of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, than could be possibly afforded by more lengthened observations on the same subject.

Extracts of a Despatch from Commander Van Riebeck, and Council to Chamber 17th.

"1662. April 9. By our last, dated 4th May, last year, ... we fully answered your letter of the 21st August, 1660. .... In reply to that of 7th May, we have the honour to state, that we wrote briefly, *viâ* Leghorn, reporting the continuance of the good intelligence subsisting between us and the Natives of this country; and afterwards, by the fleet under Messrs.

[1] Taken from the "Authenticated Records" compiled by Donald Moodie, Esq., R.N.

Frisius and Bocheljon, we fully explained the proceedings of the land expeditions, and the Madagascar affairs . . . .

" With the 120 men which have been granted, we shall be barely able to do the duty, as shown by the annual distribution-list, pointing out how and where each man is employed.

"The inutility of occupying Saldanha Bay, fully explained last year, will render the twelve or fourteen men who were allowed for that service disposable for the land expeditions, and for the unusually long journeys which we must take to the Saldanhars, for the purpose of procuring more cattle than are to be had here, where the Natives contrive to procure too much tobacco from our people for trifles, as we have occasionally found when travelling with merchandize in their company. This may be seen more fully in the accompanying journals, under the dates of the 23rd and 27th December, 1661, and 4th and 13th January, 1662, when such journeys were made with very fair success by Fiscal Gabbema; but, from our nearest neighbours, the Caepmans and tobacco thieves, nothing worth while is to be had, although they are well supplied with cattle, as often stated before, and as more fully explained in the Journal for 19th January, 1662.

" It may be also seen, under date 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th November, 1661, that the Commander Riebeck paid a visit, with twenty-one horsemen, to the Saldanhars, under the Leopard's Berg, which excited among them the greatest joy, as conceiving that, until then, peace had not been very firmly concluded. Yet, they must be closely watched notwithstanding, so that

no estrangement may arise out of the weakness of the authority which they (the chiefs) possess over their people, and the consequent disputes with our people who live at some distance from the fort; for, if they reside too near, they do give considerable annoyance to persons who sometimes go alone in exposed situations, as we have frequently noticed before, and to which representations we beg to refer.

"From the 21st and 22nd November, to the 8th December, inclusive, it may be observed that the Saldanhars would entirely oppress the Caepmans and tobacco thieves, keeping them so closely hemmed in as to allow them no access whatever to us. We have always entertained an idea that this was concerted among them, in order to try whether they could not expel us by an united effort; for they lay close to our fence on the outside of the cultivated lands, with their encampments so disposed, that we were enclosed within them in the shape of a half-moon, and could go in no direction except through their camps. This they very readily and kindly allowed us to do, as between mutual friends, while we kept the better watch, so as not to leave them any favourable opportunity, meanwhile entertaining their chiefs daily, and they sometimes entertaining us, with kindness and liberality; until, at length, upon the 8th December, 1661, they left us, and fell back into the interior, after apparently levying some contribution, though without resorting to force, from the Caepmans and tobacco thieves; and that may have been their object, if they had not, as we suspected, an eye upon us. They expressed themselves, however, as if this visit was in compliance with one of their

customs, namely, that when two friends have made peace, they should live so close together and intermixed, to prove, by the absence of any dissention, their mutual confidence and friendship, &c. So that, it would appear, that there is to be no future breach in our friendship, ay, that they would assist us in resisting any foreign invasion by sea, if we should only desire their help. Of this disposition there was some appearance when the French were wrecked here, when the natives begged that that people might not also be allowed to reside here, alleging that we were enough for them, and that, if other nations should come hither, they should soon lose all their pasture lands; and therefore, expressing themselves as if they would rather aid us against others, than allow still more to come hither; which disposition might, in case of necessity, be turned to advantage. And should they continue faithful, our horses increasing at the same time, we might give some trouble to an invader. . . . . The prices fixed by our resolution of the 27th August, 1659,[1] which your Honours have examined, have appeared to you in many respects excessive, particularly in fresh meat and pork, butter, milk, fish, vegetables, and the like. Those prices have been deemed burdensome

[1] The prices of the articles are thus fixed in the resolution in question:—"Beef two, mutton three, and pork four stivers per lb.; fish, a brass penny; three lbs. of butter, not exceeding fifteen stivers; milk, four stivers per quart; buttermilk, two ditto; hen or duck eggs, one stiver each; penguin, ditto, five for two stivers; gulls and divers, ditto, ten and twelve for two stivers; goose and kivit eggs, *ad libitum*." A stiver was the forty-eighth part of a rix-dollar, which, at different times, has varied in value from 4*s*. to 1*s*. 6*d*.

upon the freemen; and they would be so, in fact, were it the case that the freemen had to purchase those articles from the Company at those rates. But the case is, in fact, quite the reverse, and the arrangement is according to your intentions, and for their advantage; for not only is the fishing always left free to all, but every one may besides rear what fruit and vegetables he will for his own use, disposing of what he can spare to the shipping at great profit, as fully explained last year; for, otherwise, it would be rather hard upon them. The prices are not so established that they may deal with the Company, which has never had fruit and vegetables to sell to any one, but give some relief at first to poor free farmers, who had raised a few carrots; (many other things have been done for their accommodation) and also that when they should have abundance of all kinds of fruit, they might not sell it at too dear a rate, to the prejudice of the Company's inferior servants, so that those who receive provision money may be able to live upon it.....

"And, as to giving to each of the free men a piece of land on which each may keep his own cattle apart from the rest, the thing is not practicable; nor can we make enclosures here, as in the fatherland, on account of the hilliness of the country, and other obstacles. But, besides their own lands and gardens, they are allowed the whole country in every direction, ('t gansche landt over al) as common pasturage, and each may keep for himself as many cattle as he pleases. It were much to be desired that they would keep more; out of what they could spare, we might supply the ships with better stock than we can procure from

the Hottentots. . . . . We therefore hope that your Honours will be satisfied that, in all our proceedings, we have always endeavoured to conform ourselves to your views and intentions; and that, where we have misapprehended them, (which in such new work may easily happen) we have instantly, upon being apprised of our mistake, endeavoured to remedy it. . . . .

" As to our laying ourselves out for the erection of a city here, our views have always been very limited. . . . . We feel the burden of having free men who are not farmers, and shall therefore allow no more than we have at present, whose dwellings we have indeed arranged in regular order, as in the commencement of a city, fifty roods beyond the walls of the fort; but, had we not resisted it, all the farmers would have come out of the country to reside at the fort. . . . .

" The cattle trade goes on tolerably well, though we had hoped that a greater quantity would have been brought in. It seems, however, that the new Hottentoos, called Chainouquas, have a great distance to travel; and having to travel slowly with their cattle, cannot reach us so soon as we supposed, or as we had understood them to have promised. Our trade this year with the Saldanhars has been mostly in sheep, and least in horned cattle. . . . . But still, with the abundance of fruit, of which, thank God, we have more than enough, the supply will pretty well suffice for refreshments. We have explained how it is that the meat is so dry and lean in the dry season, and we hope that this will soon be remedied by the free men increasing the Dutch breed of sheep, which become very fat. . . . .

We are daily more convinced that the mounted guard enforces the utmost respect from our thievish neighbours, the Caepmans and the tobacco thieves, and not less from the Saldanhars and others; and we hope that next year we may be able to mount twenty men (we deem that number sufficient) upon the young horses reared here, which are of a very good breed. . . .

"Coming now to the reply to your last general despatch of the 30th September, of the same year. . . . We have respectfully to state that we have always used every possible exertion to prevent the ill-treatment of these Natives by our people; and we trust that we shall not neglect, in obedience to your directions, occasionally to enact, or to renew, such further orders as may be necessary to render these Natives more and more attached to us, to keep the roads safe for trading in every quarter, and to keep the trade open. . . .

"We have, as before mentioned, this season sent another expedition in search of the Namaquas, and that it might be the better attended to, we placed it under the command of the sergeant of this fort; the party proceeded fully forty-eight mylen[1] further than in the preceding year, yet they could not succeed in finding the Namaquas, for they had retired across a belt of dry, salt, and sandy grounds, of the breadth of four or five days' journey, without a drop of water, except here and there a filthy, fetid, muddy pool, and so salt, too, that dry salt might be gathered from its sides. The sergeant, with two of the men, having left the others with the oxen at a great fresh water river called Oliphant's River, travelled in vain for four days

[1] Equal to nearly two hundred English miles.—AUTHOR.

to find means of crossing that desert, and at length returned, nearly perishing with thirst, to the rest of his party at the said river, and was obliged to return home immediately. He thinks, however, that this dry strip of ground, where no grass grows, might be crossed by a party setting out from Oliphant's River at either the commencement or the end of the wet season, as he could perceive many traces of men and cattle imprinted in the hard salt ground, and here and there a hastily constructed hut; but, on the other hand, the Oliphant's River is so flooded at that season, that there would be no means of passing it with loaded oxen. This river, according to the annexed map, with their route laid down upon it, discharges itself into an inland sea,[1] in lat. 30, 43, and forty or fifty mylen distance across from the ocean. They say that this river may be navigated by boats for four mylen upwards, where it is likely that the ford is situated at which the river may be crossed.

Every endeavour will be made, conformably to your orders, for further discovery in that quarter; but we have an idea that Oedasoa, the chief of the Saldanhars, tries to separate us from that people and all other Tribes, fearing that, should they come hither, the pastures would be too little for them all, and that he would thus sink in our estimation. This we have been given to understand by the great Chariguriquas, who have renounced the authority of the Saldanhars, and live at the said Oliphant's River, betwixt which and the Namaquas lies the said dry and salt tract of country.

" Item.—The Soaquas, or Mountaineers, who, as

[1] This information proved to be incorrect.—AUTHOR.

well as the Chariguriquas, are allied to the Namaquas; these plainly assert that Oedasoa had advised the Namaquas not to come to the spot last year agreed upon, persuading them that we intended to attack them with a concealed force; so that, according to their statement, the Namaquas had retired out of fear..

"The chief of the Chariguriquas, however, at the request of our people, sent an express by some of his men, for a small reward, across that desert, to apprise the Namaquas of their arrival. The messengers returned in ten days, stating that the Namaquas found it impossible to meet our men, in consequence of the drought, so that, as before observed, our party was obliged to return. We find (now that the courses held by our party are reduced) that they had reached within eighteen or twenty mylen of the fixed place, called in Linschoten's map Vigiti Magna, lying to the north of a great river, which we have now called the River of Vigiti Magna,[1] where, according to the said map, the Lake of Gale comes in, between which and the Oliphant's River lies, as may be seen in the annexed sketch, the dry tract which has been mentioned. If we can once cross that, we shall apparently find at and along the river of Vigiti Magna, not only the Namaquas, who live there, but many other tribes. There will be some difficulty in crossing the River of Vigiti Magna, but further inquiry may remove it, and, that difficulty surmounted, we must then see to penetrate further. There is no longer any difficulty in the

[1] Probably the Great Orange River, which was so named in 1777, by Colonel Gordon, an Englishman in the service of the Prince of Orange.—AUTHOR.

journey from this to the Oliphant's River, or about one hundred and ten mylen; the great difficulty is to pass the forty mylen of dry country intervening between that river and the River of Vigiti Magna. This will be further examined by active adventurers, who may have a rendezvous of cattle and provisions at Oliphant's River. The last party are not disinclined to undertake this, and are much vexed to hear that they had been so near, and we therefore hope for better luck next time.

"They also state that, wherever they have been, they have no where seen any country so good as this spot about the Cape, the surface being in general either stony or sandy, and they therefore deem this place the best they have seen in the whole country. There was also (as may be seen from their diary, inserted in the Cape Journal, under date 13th February, 1662) very little bush or arable land; and they knew not upon what the cattle of the Hottentoos could subsist, except the grass growing here and there between the stones, on the high mountains, or that which is to be found in dales and valleys. In this manner, our cattle also have to seek their food, on both sides of the Table Mountain and Boshberg. As all the rest of the land where a plough can penetrate has been given out for corn land, except about twenty morgen, which seems pretty good, but which, being the most distant of all, (although within the line [cirkel] and in sight of the guard-house, Hout den Bul) no one is inclined to take. . . . .

"As the Commander G. Van Harn died early in his voyage, and as the Commander Riebeck has thus

been prevented from availing himself of his long-looked for release, granted to him by the pleasing communication from your honours, dated August 21, 1660, still he would not abandon his post, although it might have been occupied until further orders by Messrs. De Man and Gabbema. From the early departure of the homeward-bound fleet, he was unable to repeat his request to your Honours, except at the loss of a whole year's time, indeed until now, when he has continued three years without promotion, beyond his second engagement. For these reasons, and that he might the sooner reach Batavia, he made another application to the Governor-General and Council of India, ... in consequence of which their Honours were pleased to send, by the last fleet from Batávia, Mr. Zacharias Wagenaar as his successor, to whom, after the despatch of this letter, due transfer shall be made .....

"And, as the said Commander Riebeck is now entering upon the third year beyond his second engagement, and thus upon the eleventh year of his service at this place, in which time he has, next to God, converted this Cape from a barren waste, by the labour of his hands, to a desirable place of refreshment, where a sufficiency of fruit may always be had for the refreshment of the crews of your outward and homeward bound fleets, besides the cattle which are occasionally purchased in abundance from the inhabitants, with whom we are now on the best terms, through which we have also so far advanced your other object, namely, the cultivation of corn .... [here follows an enumeration of the different kinds of fruit flourishing in 'what was found a dry waste'] and as we are not aware that

we have ever left anything untried . . . . and as by your letter of the 30th September, last year, you have been pleased to state that 'the work is now in order, and brought on a good footing there.' Your said most obedient and dutiful servant, the Commander Riebeck, most humbly prays that, in consideration of his long services here, you will be pleased at length to favour him with such a thankworthy augmentation, especially in rank and salary, as may more and more bind him to your service. . . . .

"JAN VAN RIEBECK, Z. WAGENAAR, &c.

"In the Company's Fort the Goede Hoep,

"9th April, 1662."

Extracts from Journal, continued.

"April 11th. To-day and yesterday, bartered seven cattle and nine sheep.

"April 17th. This day the first ripe apples were plucked.

"April 20th. Mr. Wagenaar went to Robben Island . . . . where he found one hundred and seventy very fine sheep, four goats, and three hundred pigs, living wild.

Extracts of Memorandum left by Commander J. Van Riebeck, for the information and guidance of his successor, Z. Wagenaar.

"May 5th. [The first paragraph merely refers to the several instructions and other papers explanatory of the objects of taking possession of the Cape. Then follow the several subjects here omitted, which are denoted by the following marginals, given in italics].

"*Company's first object attained, in addition to other refreshments. A good prospect of fruit, particularly*

from the vines; also olives in time. The corn lands turn out much poorer than was supposed.[1] *Trade, and the condition of the Cape Tribes.*

"Coming now to the subject of the trade with these Native Tribes, the same is now, thanks to God, on a much better footing than ever, through the knowledge which we are gradually acquiring of various races of people in the interior, whose names, with their places of abode, and mode of living, are thus briefly stated, in order to convey a better idea of their circumstances. We have then, in the first place—

"THE GORINGHAICONAS, of whom Herry has been usually called the captain. These are Strandloopers, or fishers, who are, exclusive of women and children, not above eighteen in number, supporting themselves, without the least live stock of any description, by fishing from the rocks along the coast, thus furnishing a great accommodation to the Company's people and freemen, and also rendering much assistance to those who keep house by washing, scouring, fetching firewood, and other domestic work; and some of them placing their little daughters in the service of the married people, where they are clothed in our manner. But they must have a slack rein, and will not be kept strictly; such appears to be contrary to their nature.

[1] This shows what early attention was paid by the Dutch to agriculture, and the introduction of European plants and trees at the Cape of Good Hope. In addition to every species of fruit-tree, the oak and pine were successfully transplanted to Southern Africa, where they to this day flourish most luxuriantly in the vicinity of Cape Town; in short, nothing appears to have been left untried by Van Riebeck, in order to promote the prosperity of his infant Settlement.—AUTHOR.

Some of them, however, begin to be tolerably civilized; and the Dutch language is so far implanted among them, old and young, that nothing can any longer be kept secret when mentioned in their presence, and very little in that of

"THE GORINGHAIQUAS, whose chief is named Gogosoa, and who are the Caepmans. They are, exclusive of women and children, about three hundred men capable of bearing arms, supplied with about enough cattle to provide for their own wants. But, as they begin to be somewhat fond of mercantile gains (coopmanachtige), they are rather increasing their stock, particularly as they have always been knowing enough—upon the approach of strangers from the interior with pretty good cattle—to act as brokers and guides, to conduct the strangers to us; exchanging their leanest and worst cattle for the good, and then bringing those strangers to us, and insisting upon it that they have been the means of enticing and fetching them out of the interior, &c., in which manner they well know how to enrich themselves, becoming every day worse and more cunning. These are they who pretend that this Cape-land has been theirs from all ages, and who, seeing that we were betaking ourselves to permanent agriculture, made war upon us in the year 1659, on account, according to their statements, of their harsh treatment by some of the free men. But, on seeing, contrary to their expectations, that we, though assailed at the weakest,[1] were not to be so easily driven away;

[1] This first aggressive war of the natives on the Dutch Settlers will be more particularly noticed in a following chapter. —AUTHOR.

and that, meanwhile, the chief, or king of the Saldanhars, took the opportunity of that disturbed time to form an alliance with us, which alliances they had always used every art to prevent, &c., they were induced, two years ago, to request and to conclude a peace with us, as also did

"THE GORACHOUQUAS, or tobacco thieves, so called because they once stole, from the field, the tobacco belonging to some free men, and whose chief is named Choro. You have been in both their camps. They have, besides women and children, six or seven hundred men capable of bearing arms, and are fully six times as rich in cattle as the last-mentioned tribe; and a few head are sometimes bought from them, but nothing of importance.

"They have, since the war before mentioned, generally lived close to the Caepmans, and about a day's journey to the north-east, behind the Leopard's Hill, not far from, and, as it would seem, under the wing of the Saldanhars. But this April, both tribes have come back to live at the foot of the Bosheuvel, under our protection, in consequence, as it would seem, of some difference which has arisen between them and the Saldanhars, who are

"THE COCHOQUAS, consisting of two divisions, under two chiefs, or choeques (which means kings): the first is named Oedasoa, a quiet man, whose wife—last year deceased—was sister of the interpreter, Eva; who is also a niece of Herry, and has from her childhood been brought up in our house, and can speak Dutch almost as well as a Dutch girl. We thus derive much service from her in translation, although she

does lead us a dance now and then (altewets oock wel een flits op de mon can spelden), and some things must be received from her with caution.

"The other chief of the Saldanhars, or Cochoquas, is named Gonnoma, and is often some distance apart from Oedasoa. They have, together, several thousand men, and generally occupy the middle of the country opposite to us, under the African mountains, extending from near False Bay quite to Saldanha Bay; but not always remaining in one place, and moving about for change of pasture. With which Oedasoa and Gonnoma we appear to have a very firm alliance, and with whom we carry on a good, indeed a constant, trade in live stock, chiefly in sheep—but not so many horned cattle that we have ever been able to spare so many as now for the refreshment of the Company's shipping; they have helped, however; but we have never procured any stock whatever, deserving of the name, from

"THE LITTLE CHARIGURIQUAS, a people about as numerous as the Goringhaiquas, who chiefly reside between Saldanha Bay, and midway between Robben and Dassen Island—about four or five hours' walk from the sea coast, subject to Oedasoa, though they have rebelled against him. They were accustomed to be his stock-keepers, but appropriated his cattle to their own use; and, therefore, they are not recognised by any of the Hottentots as a people who have a Choeque, or Hunque, that is, a hereditary king, or chief. They seem, however, to be able to take their own part, as it now begins to appear, through the fear which Oedasoa entertains for

"THE NAMAQUAS, with whom the great Charigu-

riquas have sought and formed an alliance; this people have recently been found by us after long search. They are very rich in cattle, and very tall in stature, almost half giants, dressed in fine prepared skins, as may be seen at full by the notes, kept by our travellers, and inserted in our journal under date the 11th March, 1661; where it may also be seen that they are very favourably disposed towards us, and that they seem to be a people who carry on trade with other Tribes residing further inland; and through whom the way is now in so far opened, that it is only now that we can properly begin to discover any thing better than cattle. Of these people, to all appearance, more will come to you than you can wish.

"And thus, after ten years' toil, we hope that we have opened for you a fortunate road to the north side of this Africa; whither, towards the end of September, another journey must be taken, in order to be enabled to cross the dry country (which, at that season, will probably be still moist after the rains), to the river upon which there is laid down, in Linschoten's map, a town (vaste plaets) called Vigiti Magna, and where there is a race of people quite different[1] from the Hottentoos, of whom we have been hitherto treating; and to whom we shall also return—namely, to those whom we have found to be the richest, almost all of whom reside to the eastward, along the east coast of

[1] Allusion is probably here made to the Bechuana nation of the Damaras. On what information this map of Linschoten (published some years before at Amsterdam) was founded, still remains a mystery. It however abounds in imaginary towns, rivers, &c., which appear to have existed only in the fertile imagination of its inventor.—AUTHOR.

Africa, where they sometimes show themselves in some bays, as we can discover from their own statements. We have only begun to know them well during the last two years, and they are

"THE CHAINOUQUAS, whose choque, or king, is named Sousoa, with whom we are upon very good and rather firm terms of friendship, and who have, since that time, bartered to us a great number of cattle, and a good many sheep, also. They are able to supply us abundantly; and, on taking leave of us last year, promised to come back with a still larger quantity. We sincerely trust that you may, on the Company's account, enjoy the fortunate result; and also that, as we are given to expect by the accounts of all the Hottentoos, you may be soon visited by

"THE HEUSAQUAS, from whom a messenger was last year at the fort, with intelligence that his Chief also intended to come to visit the Sourye (that is, the Lord of the Land, the name by which I have been generally known) of the Dutch, with money and cattle, to try to procure, like his friends, the Chainouquas, a share of our merchandize, which will be a most desirable event, as they are very rich in cattle, and have a strong liking for the consumable tobacco, and for certain red beads in the Company's stores, for which the cattle are procured from those people at a very cheap rate. The Hottentoos who live near us speak in high terms of this Tribe, saying that now that Sousoa is gone, they will come with such great herds of cattle, that the merchandize will fall short. This, however, need not be feared, but hoped for— item, also for the arrival of—

"THE HANCUMQUAS, who, according to the hopes held out to us, and from all that we have been able to learn, are the greatest and most powerful of all the race of greasy Hottentoos, living in houses, which, like theirs, are covered with mats, but of a very large size, and living permanently on the same spot, where they cultivate and dry a certain plant which they call Dacha. This they chew and eat, and, consequently, become very light-headed, as in India, from opium; and this is the reason why they are so eager for the strongest tobacco. The chiefs of this Tribe appear to be chiefs over all the other choques, or kings, being entitled Choebona, which seems to mean emperor, or, at least, upper king, or lord over all the others.

"Those now who reside further than this Chief Lord of the Hottentoos, though of the same race, and much richer in cattle than all those who live on this side of this supreme chief, are named, first,

"THE CHAMAQUAS, and next them the OMAQUAS, ATIQUAS, HOUTUNQUAS, and CHAUQUAS, all subsisting like the Hancumquas — besides their countless herds of cattle—by Dacha plantations, living on fixed spots, in large mat-huts, dressed in skins like all the Hottentoos, and also equally greasy, &c.

"After those are said to begin, though beyond the River Vigiti Magna, and in an easterly direction, another race of people called, by all the before mentioned Hottentoos,

"CHOBOQUA, or COBONA,[1] residing in fixed houses,

[1] The following note is written in the same handwriting on the margin: — "Observe, that the Hottentoo terminations of "qua" and "na," in the names of tribes, have the same mean-

constructed of wood, clay, and other materials; but, at the same time, maintaining themselves by cattle, and wearing clothes, whom we conjecture to be the people of Mónomotopa, as Eva would often persuade us, and that—as we have also been informed, through her interpretation, by the said Sousoa—there is chory, or gold; and white gems among those Choboquas, of which he has promised to bring proofs, and also some one of that people. We trust that you may, for the good of the Company, experience the success of this, and procure some further account of the people, of whom the messenger from the Heusaquas told us, that they keep lions as tame as we keep dogs, and among whom it is said that the gold and the white gems are to be found. I trust that diligent inquiry will afford us further knowledge upon all these matters, either through their own people coming to us, or through our men, who are sufficiently well disposed to visit them; as the roads have, through the alliances formed with the several tribes of the race of Hottentoos, become so safe that our people have nothing to look for, in any quarter, but the most friendly reception. In consequence of this, had I remained here, we fully intended, as soon as the rains were over, and at the commencement of the dry season, to send out a party of volunteers, to try whether we could not find

ing; as Coboqua or Cobona, Namaqua or Namana, Cochoqua or Cochona," &c. The Choboquas, or Cobona, here mentioned, may be identical with the Bechuana tribes beyond the Great Orange River, towards Latakoo. It cannot fail to strike every one conversant with South African affairs, how very little has since this early period been accomplished in the way of discovery in so interesting a part of the world.—AUTHOR.

out the said Choboquas, as we last year, as before mentioned, found the long-sought Namaquas."

JEALOUSY OF THE SALDANHARS.—"But there is no doubt that Oedasoa, who is the greatest among the natives who live near to the Cape, is as jealous upon this matter as were the Caepmans formerly, when we were endeavouring to become better acquainted with him; and equally fearful of falling into less esteem, in proportion to the extent of our discoveries. This may be fully relied upon, as we have already begun to perceive it from Oedasoa's demeanour; but we have endeavoured to remove his apprehension by friendly and affable treatment; and this course must, of necessity, be continued; for, upon any coolness with him, we can see no prospect of profit for the Company, and deem the preservation of friendship the preferable course; although he (just like the Goringhaiquas, or Caepmans, who long kept us in ignorance of him) has had in view precisely the same object as to the other Tribes, in hoodwinking us, and leading us to believe that he was the greatest *heer* of this country.

"But now, seeing that we have at length discovered the Namaquas (a different, and, as before observed, a more active race than the Hottentoos), and hearing that we have been well received by them, and that they have promised to come hither, whether he likes it or not — they having, however, first shown their inclination to be reconciled to him, and for that purpose offering to send two or three with our party to express their disposition for peace, and to settle old disputes with him (for the Namaquas did not dare to

attack him here, for fear of our assisting him), the said Oedasoa allowed himself to be in so far guided by us, that, on the 21st March, last year, he sent three of his people to them as commissioners, in company with our party who went thither, and were to act between the parties as mediators.[1] This endeavour succeeded according to our wishes; and the result has been, that they not only now leave each other unmolested on journeys, and in trading with us, but the Saldanhars may carry on a friendly intercourse and traffic with the said Namaquas, who are, as before observed, a different race from these Hottentoos; of much larger stature, clothed in fine, well-dressed skins without hair, and using rushes (ruyge) at night to sleep on. Their own hair, although like that of the Caffers,[2] is worn long, and plaited in an ornamental manner like locks, with many ornaments of copper, iron, and red beads; also *caurys* and *bougys*, for which they are very eager, as well as for red caps, and for the red cloth of which to make them."

HOPES OF ELEPHANTS' TEETH AMONG THE NAMAQUAS, AND WHY.—"It would seem, also, that ivory is much more plentiful among them than among the Hottentoos, from the very thick bracelets of that article which they wear, and from the very singular plates of ivory which they wear over a finely-dressed skin, worn as an apron. A specimen of each has been sent to our masters in Holland, and two such

[1] A part which the Dutch always enacted between the hostile native tribes.—AUTHOR.

[2] Van Riebeck's knowledge of the "Caffers" must have been entirely from hearsay, and apparently not very correct.—AUTHOR.

plates are in the office here. It may, therefore, happen that a trade in ivory and other articles may yet be opened with them, which were much to be desired for the relief of the Company's expenditure at this place."

WHEREABOUTS THE NAMAQUAS ARE TO BE FOUND BY SEA.—"From a calculation of the courses and distances travelled by our land parties, we are led to conjecture that those people reside not far distant from the coast, and near the bay called by Linschoten *Angra das Voltas*, between the 29th and 30th, parallel to the northward. And, had I staid here, I had it in contemplation, upon a favourable opportunity, to send a Cape galliot, or any small vessel that could be spared, to ascertain that point, as well as whether that bay might not be found suitable, in respect of anchorage, water, and other refreshments, for Company's ships to touch at, when occasionally blown to leeward of the Cape by the S.S.E. gales in February and March, when the ships arrive from India, and when those winds are usually most severe; or, in the event of ivory or other merchandize being found (which might be too bulky for conveyance by land), to place a trading station there, or otherwise, according to circumstances. I, therefore, bring the subject under your notice; in order that you may, at a fitting opportunity, improve upon the suggestion in as far as you may deem it to be practicable, and serviceable to the Company; but the vessel must first be sent to Madagascar for rice, and whatever else our masters have directed, or may hereafter direct to be done there."

NOTHING MORE SERVICEABLE TO THE COMPANY THAN PEACE WITH THE HOTTENTOOS.—"It being, above all things, necessary that you always endeavour to live in constant peace with the Hottentoos,[1] one tribe as well as the other; not only that the roads may every where be safe, to facilitate further discoveries, but also that the tribes above named may always be able to come down without apprehension, with their cattle, for the refreshment of the crews of the Company's ships. To this object, in the first place, a more than usually liberal reception will much contribute, and especially if little squabbles occurring between our people—particularly the ship people—and them, be not too seriously taken up, but rather passed over occasionally, as if in ignorance, especially at first, or otherwise they would become so shy that they would fly inland with all they possess, making the other tribes so shy also, that they would keep away altogether. And you would thus find yourselves in a moment deprived, not only with the daily barter with the Saldanhars, but also of the trade with all the other Tribes before named. The best advice, therefore, that I am able to give you in this matter is, that you keep your attention constantly fixed, steadfast as a wall, to this point: to live without any the slightest estrangement from your neighbours here, the Caepmans or Goringhaiquas, and the tobacco thieves or Gorachouquas, as well as with Oedasoa, the king of the Saldanhars; which may be effected—besides the friendly treatment aforesaid—by keeping

[1] This does not corroborate the alleged aggressive spirit said to have always been manifested by the Dutch.—AUTHOR.

so sharp and strict a watch, by mounted and other guards, (already brought so far into order) over the Company's live stock, and that belonging to the freemen, that a fair opportunity of driving them off is never left open to the natives, without exposing their lives to danger. For, should they have even the least chance of success, they could not refrain from the attempt; and, on this account, a very close watch will be always required here. *Au reste*, that when they sometimes perceive some simple green horn from the ships, going to some retired spot (ergens achter off lopende kycken), and rob him of his tobacco, bread, and brass, or iron buttons from his clothes, it is not a matter of such mighty importance, but that it may be easily arranged. The quarrels, also, which occur between them and the ship people, more than those who are resident here, and which proceed, perhaps, to the length of pelting each other with stones, ought not to be too gravely regarded—for our men—who, when playing and wrestling (stoeyende) with them, sometimes get a thump a little harder than they will bear, and are thus provoked to abuse them, and call them black stinking dogs, &c.—are themselves, in a great measure, the cause. For the natives fully understand these and other Dutch words, and reply, that they are men as well as the Dutch, and so forth; so that I will add, that our common people are often found, when out of our presence, to be the first cause of many disputes (questien), which are sometimes attended with trouble, in order to restore tranquillity among these natives; and this may be best accomplished by a show of injustice (ongelyk) towards our

own people, paying the others by a friendly promise of inflicting some kind of punishment on our men on board of their ships.

"And, although this course appears to many of our people somewhat improper, it is, nevertheless, most absolutely necessary, in order that we may live in peace and quiet; and I have, therefore, always pursued this line of conduct, and enforced it upon others. And whatever better course you may be able to adopt cannot fail to be still more serviceable to the Company; for, in the event of disagreement, you will not be able to keep a single Hottentoo here or hereabouts; and, therefore, friendship with those who have been herein named should be kept in mind as one of the principal maxims; in which case, the trade will not only continue to flourish more and more, but the roads also will be safe for travelling in every direction, to search for what has not hitherto been found; and, as before observed, the Directors, and their Honours at Batavia, will be thus best satisfied; for it may be seen, from the public and private letters from both quarters, that journeys for the purposes of discovery are not disapproved, but expressly ordered to be prosecuted with every assiduity. And, therefore, so far from dissuading you from continuing them at fitting seasons of the monsoon, I would most earnestly recommend their being prosecuted with vigour at the seasons before mentioned .....

"And to give out any lands beyond the Company's enclosure, is, on account of the attendant expense of protecting the freemen, quite unadvisable; even should they be disposed to live out there at their own risk,

we have never dared to venture upon it, for they would instantly lose their cattle, and would be robbed of them, even by our best friends; unless, indeed, any one were mad enough and rich enough to hazard his own capital. But, with the Company's means—upon which all the farmers here have been set up—this would be entirely wrong, and ought never to be thought of; for the Hottentoos, upon seeing the least opportunity, could not abstain from stealing the cattle, as we have, at full length and breadth, explained to the Directors. And, for the same reason, I would not venture to sell cattle, even for ready money, to any one who was about to farm there, for he would forthwith lose them, and would then be troubling the Company for more.....

"The slaves here learn nothing but Dutch, and also the Hottentoos, so that no other language is spoken here; and if this can be continued, it will be a desirable thing, as it always will keep the Portuguese and others from communicating with these Tribes, so that they will be the less able to mislead them, &c. Herry and Doman live chiefly here at the fort, as interpreters, or advocates (voorspraken)—the first, as it were, for the tobacco thieves, and the other for the Caepmans. They get their food and drink from us; and they should continue to be thus supported, to bind them to the Company, and to keep mischief out of their heads; though, indeed, now that we are so well supplied with horses, I do not think that they will easily be inclined to undertake any thing against us, so long as good attention is paid to the mounted guard and the outposts.

"How the interpreter, Eva, is retained and treated has been already mentioned, and verbally communicated. She acts chiefly for the Saldanhars, and others who come from a distance.

"As I cannot but think that every thing has now been detailed at sufficient length, I do not know what more I can say, than to repeat briefly the most advantageous, and the chief rules to be attended to for the service of the Company, namely—

1st. "That you always endeavour to live and trade in peace with these Tribes; at the same time, and for the same purpose, to penetrate—by parties of volunteers—further and further into the interior.

2nd. "To have constantly in readiness sufficient refreshments for the shipping.

3rd. "The necessary increase of the stock of cattle and sheep, and also of pigs, &c.

4th. "To keep up the cultivation of corn; and, as far as practicable, to extend it more and more, for the purpose of provisioning this residency, and that the less food may be required from abroad.

5th. "The cultivation of the olive, as urgently recommended by the last letter from the Directors .....

"And now, trusting that I have sufficiently explained the objects of our Honourable Masters ..... I shall conclude, by recommending you to the merciful protection of the Almighty, and by recommending to you the command and management of affairs here in the manner most serviceable to the Hon. Company. In the Fort the Goede Hope, adij. 5th May, Ao. 1662.

"JAN VAN RIEBECK."

141327

I shall now condense my subsequent "History" of the Cape into the following

LIST OF THE GOVERNORS OF THE COLONY, FROM THE TIME OF ITS FOUNDER, VAN RIEBECK, TO THE PRESENT DAY :—

Joan Anthony Van Riebeck	April 8,	1652.
Zacharias Wagenaar	May 9,	1662.
Cornelius Van Gualberg	October 24,	1666.
Jacob Borghorst	June 18,	1668.
Pieter Hackins	June 2,	1670.
Coenroad Van Breitenbach	December 1,	1671.
Albert Van Breugel	March 23,	1672.
Ysbrand Goske	October 2,	1672.
Johan Bat (Van Herentals)	January 2,	1676.
Hendrik Crudat	June 29,	1678.
Simon Van der Stell	October 14,	1679.
William Adrian Van der Stell	February 11,	1699.
Johan Cornelius d'Ableing	June 3,	1707.
Louis Van Assemberg	February 1,	1708.
Mauritz Posques de Chavornnes	March 28,	1714.
Jan de la Fontaine (Acting)	September 8,	1724.
Pieter Gisbert Nood	February 25,	1727.
Jan de la Fontaine (Acting)	April 24,	1729.
Jan de la Fontaine (Effective)	March 8,	1730.
Adrian Van Rervel	November 14,	1736.
Daniel Van den Hengel	September 20,	1737.
Hendrik Swellengrebel	April 14,	1739.
Ryk Tulbagh	March 30,	1751.
Joachim Van Plettenburg	August 12,	1771.
Pieter Van Reede Van Oudtshoorn (died on his passage to the Colony, on board the ship Asia)	January 23,	1773.
Cornelius Jacob Van der Graff	February 14,	1785.
Johannes Isaak Rhenius	June 29,	1791.
Abr. J. Sluysken (Commissioner)	September 2,	1793.

UNDER THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

General Craig	September 1,	1795.
Earl Macartney	May 23,	1797.

Sir Francis Dundas (Lieut.-Governor) .	November 22, 1798.
Sir George Yonge	December 18, 1798.
Sir Francis Dundas (Lieut.-Governor) .	April 20, 1801.
Jan Wilhelm Janssens (Batavian Governor, on the reversion of the Colony to the Dutch)	March 1, 1803.

ON OUR SECOND POSSESSION OF THE CAPE.

Sir David Baird	January 10, 1806.
Hon. H. G. Grey (Lieut.-Governor) .	January 17, 1807.
Du Pre, Earl of Caledon . .	May 22, 1807.
Hon. H. G. Grey (Lieut.-Governor) .	July 5, 1811.
Sir John Francis Cradock . .	September 6, 1811.
Hon. R. Meade (Lieut.-Governor) .	December 13, 1813.
Lord Charles Henry Somerset .	April 6, 1814.
Sir Rufane Shawe Donkin (Acting during the absence of Lord C. Somerset)	January 13, 1820.
Lord Charles H. Somerset (Returned) .	December 1, 1821.
General Bourke (Lieut.-Governor) .	February 8, 1828.
Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole (Governor) .	August 6, 1828.
Sir B. d'Urban (Governor) . .	1833.
Sir G. Napier	November 4, 1837.
Sir Peregrine Maitland . . .	December 19, 1843.

succeeded, in January, 1847, by Sir Henry Pottinger, as Governor, and Sir George Berkeley, as Commander-in-Chief; who were followed by Sir Harry Smith, now (1849) filling both those offices.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MODERN HOTTENTOTS.

Decrease of the Hottentot race—Fictitious causes assigned for this—Ravages of the Smallpox—Misrepresentation of facts—Hottentot wars—Intemperance and Immorality—Real causes of the great Diminution in the numbers of the Hottentots—Missionary stations—A sketch of male and female modern Hottentots—Alliances formed by Europeans with Hottentot women—Case of Van der Kemp and other Missionaries—Hottentots traced to a Coptic origin—Habits of the modern Hottentots—The girdle of famine—The modern Hottentot a compound of good and bad qualities.

From the contents of the preceding chapters—authenticated by a reference to the various authors who have been quoted on the subject—the reader will be able to estimate the correctness of the assertions of those who maintain that, ere the "white man" planted his footsteps on the shores of Southern Africa, the "gentle race of shepherds" constituting the nomadic population of those regions enjoyed—with unmitigated Arcadian felicity—a pastoral and primitive mode of life.

The Quaiquæ, as a nation, may be said now no longer to exist: even the language itself has disappeared, to be replaced among their descendants with a sort of Dutch "patois;" and those descendants—the Hottentots of the present day—in number probably not a tithe of their forefathers, are, with few exceptions, scattered over the face of the country in the shape of domestic servants, of vagrants, or of worse than use-

less idlers at the different missionary establishments within the colony.

What, it will be asked, is the reason of this great decrease in the numbers of the Hottentot race? The "philanthropists" unhesitatingly lay the blame at the door of European occupation—of European extirpation, by war, by tyranny, and oppression—of European vice, in the shape of intoxication, by the introduction of ardent spirits, and the corrupting influence of European morals. The first of these assertions is partly true—the rest are decidedly *false*, as I shall endeavour to prove. European occupation introduced into Southern Africa diseases which were apparently unknown before—smallpox and measles, engrafted on the filthiest of the human race,[1] crowded as they were into loathsome huts, carried among the Hottentots wholesale death and destruction.

"It is an undoubted fact," says Thunberg, "that smallpox (a new disease to them) soon exterminated the greater part of them," and "that their bodies lay in the fields and highways unburied."[2] With the naturally improvident and filthy habits of the Hottentots, who were so completely careless of infection, and regardless of all means of prevention or cure, those fearful maladies, which appear within the last two centuries to have repeatedly visited this part of the world, were alone sufficient to account for the thinning of that race, exposed to their most baneful effects, with-

[1] See Thunberg's work on the Cape of Good Hope, vol. ii., p. 193; and Kolben, vol. ii., p. 179; also Van Riebeck's Journal in Authenticated Records of the Cape.

[2] See Thunberg's Travels, vol. i., pp. 120 and 305.

out assigning other false or fictitious reasons for the same.

That the diminution of the Hottentot race is owing to exterminating wars waged on them by Europeans is decidedly false; for, on carefully searching such old records where correct information is likely to be obtained on the subject, I find that after the act of retaliation already mentioned, as perpetrated by the Portuguese, to avenge the death of the Viceroy Almeida, the only wars on record between Europeans and the Hottentots were those of 1659 and 1673. These were provoked by a series of robberies, murders, and aggressions on the part of the latter towards the recent settlers; and in which, moreover, there was little loss of life on either side.

"On this day," (June 7th, 1659,) says Van Riebeck, in his Journal,[1] "whereas it has pleased the Almighty recently to visit our transgressions with destructive sickness among the live stock of the company, and with depredations upon that of the free Colonists by the Hottentoos, through the sanguinary war most unexpectedly waged upon us by the savage men of this country, to our great injury and oppression, and to the utter ruin of some of the farmers; although we always have been, and still are, in every way disposed to live on terms of the greatest friendship with the said people. Seeing, however, that our wishes were unavailing, and that we were compelled to take up arms to oppose their violence, in which there is hitherto no abatement, it is therefore thought fit to hold a service of fasting and prayer every Wed-

[1] See Authenticated Records of the Cape, p. 169.

nesday, at 4, p.m., to implore that the wrath of the Almighty may be turned away from us, and that he may be mercifully pleased to extend to us his blessing, and his help against these our enemies, so that we may obtain and maintain the superiority over them, (victorie oriygende ende behoudende) and may then renew our former friendly intercourse. This shall be intimated to the congregation, after sermon on the ensuing Sunday, so that each may prepare himself, and proceed at the appointed time to the usual place for holding divine service."

That this purely defensive war was unwillingly undertaken by the Dutch, in any thing save a blood-thirsty or retaliatory spirit of revenge and extermination, is fully proved by the following extract from the same document, dated May 18th, 1659.[1]

"The commander and council, (assisted, as before mentioned) having carefully weighed and considered all in the premises which require consideration, it was at length unanimously thought fit and resolved—after much mature and prolonged deliberation, as, indeed, no other means whatever of attaining quiet and peace with these Cape people could be discovered—that we shall take the first opportunity, as being the best, to attempt suddenly to surprise and attack them with a strong force, taking as many cattle, and as many male prisoners, as possible, *avoiding, at the same time, as much as possible, all unnecessary bloodshed*, but keeping the prisoners as hostages, so as thus to hold those who may escape in check and subjection, in hopes that quiet may thus be restored; the rather, as we are assured,

[1] From Authenticated Records of the Cape, pp. 164-5.

that the true Saldanhars, their enemies, will care as little about them as about Herry, but will come more freely, and deal with us more confidently than before, as these Caepmans have always been found to be the chief preventers of that intercourse."

For the execution of which resolution, orders were given to hold all in readiness, "and the council preferred a prayer to the Almighty that he would be pleased to assist us with his help and blessing. Amen!"

Extracts from the Journal continued: "This resolution had not been passed an hour, when there came tidings that all Brinckman's cattle had been taken (about thirty), and all his sheep (above seventy); and also the rest of Vassagie's and Roon's cattle had been taken; and that Brinckman's comrade, Symon Intvelt, after firing his gun at the Hottentoos, had been attacked and miserably murdered by assagays, having fully seven wounds; a slave had also been wounded; Doman was among them, and had himself picked up and carried away Symon's gun. He was pursued by seven free men, but we fear will not be overtaken, and that the pursuers will run some risk. Orders were instantly given to send some soldiers to the free men's houses, to defend them as much as possible from further disasters, and every preparation was made for the prevention of more mischief; for four of the farms are now entirely ruined and brought to a stand-still, in the midst of the ploughing and sowing season, to the great injury of the agriculture," &c.

The Hottentots, on the occasion of their encounters with the Dutch—even when not in overwhelming numbers—were far from allowing themselves to be overcome

without the fiercest resistance. They boldly faced their opponents in the various skirmishes which took place; and proved themselves aught save 'a meek and gentle race of shepherds,' as appears from the following entry in Van Riebeck's Journal of the 19th of July, 1659.

"From this affair, seeing that five Hottentots dared to oppose themselves to four mounted men, it may be easily seen that, when they are close pushed, they can show desperate courage, and will rather die than be taken." However, the whole of the casualties which occurred during this "war" amounted only to two Dutchmen and six Hottentots killed; a very small item in the alleged work of extirpation. A further reference to the above-mentioned document will show that at a much later date—so near our own times as the year 1776—mutual destruction was still carried on between rival Hottentot races; and that some time previous to this period the predatory Bushmen, not content with despoiling and harassing the Dutch Colonists, had driven the other tribes of Hottentots from the more fertile tracts of country which they had formerly occupied;[1] and these tracts were subsequently wrested in defensive and retributive warfare by the Dutch from these very robber Bushmen.

So much for the destruction of the Hottentot race by the bloody wars waged on them by the Colonists! The advocates of this theory will find it as difficult to prove that it resulted from domestic tyranny and oppres-

[1] See in Moodie's work under date of 7th of May, 1776, "Extract of Records of the Board of Landdrost and Militia Officers of Stellenbosch."

sion; for the Hottentots were only employed voluntarily, as domestic servants; never being considered or treated as slaves; and even towards that unfortunate class—composed of Mozambiques, Malays, and Negroes from the coast of Guinea—the Dutch Settlers are stated to have, generally speaking, behaved with the utmost kindness and humanity. Even Le Vaillant, who was greatly prejudiced against the Colonists, admits (vol. i., p. 84) that "there is no country in the world where slaves are treated with so much humanity as at the Cape."

As to the charge of intoxication having been introduced by Europeans among the Hottentots,[1] *that*, likewise, is decidedly false; for the noxious "Dacha" plant, mentioned by every old author as being in most general use amongst this people, usually produced more deleterious effects than even the immoderate use of ardent spirits, which were afterwards substituted in its stead. And Le Vaillant, one of their greatest advocates, says, in speaking of the Hottentots of his own time, "smoking and drinking are their ruling pleasures; and all, whether old or young, married or unmarried, are much addicted to both. When they choose to give themselves the trouble, they make an intoxicating liquor, composed of honey and a certain root, which they suffer to ferment in a proper quantity of water," &c.

Next, as regards their morals, a reference to the same authors will prove that, dissolute and unchaste as are proverbially the Hottentot women of the present

[1] See Doctor Philip's "Researches in Southern Africa," vol. i., p. 57.

day, they have but inherited these propensities from their mothers. It is recorded in Van Riebeck's Journal, of September 5th, 1655, that on the interpreter Herry being urged to leave the women and children behind, when departing for some distant expedition, his reply was, "that their wives must be with them everywhere, so as to be kept from other men."

Though little change has therefore been brought about by time, in the general tone of morality of the Hottentot nation—under the head of honesty, both men and women have certainly, whilst under the eye of the law, rather improved than deteriorated, when compared with their robber-ancestors, who, not content with constantly plundering the cattle of the Settlers, would even rob the Dutch sailors whom they caught ashore of the very buttons off their jackets!

From the above statement—and I have given chapter and verse, to corroborate what is here advanced—it would appear that the real cause of the extraordinary diminution of the Hottentot race may therefore in a great measure be attributed—not to the reasons usually alleged—but to the effects of accidental disease, aggravated by natural habits of improvidence, filth, and intemperance; evil effects probably not a little increased by that spirit of indolence—or rather thorough idleness—so shamefully countenanced and encouraged at most of the missionary establishments within the limits of the Colony. Here, under the false pretence of being instructed—and, generally speaking, by most incompetent instructors—in the doctrines of Christianity, the Hottentot leads a life of, to him, *dolce far niente*; during which his manual labour (with the remunera-

tion for the same) is not only lost, but those habits of idleness, which invariably beget vice, are here a hundredfold increased. These hotbeds of laziness have been, moreover, in many cases, converted into nurseries for harbouring deserters and vagabonds of every description; and where the germs of discontent and suspicion, most injudiciously planted, have produced the evil fruits of enmity against the Colony, or intrigues with its enemies, and in some instances of open rebellion.[1]

Surely, such ought not to be the precepts inculcated, at the expense of the lives and property of their fellow-countrymen, by men professing to disseminate amongst the "Heathen" the holy truths of the Gospel!

By adhering as closely as possible to the several accounts to be found in all those ancient documents written on the Cape, from its first discovery by Europeans, I have endeavoured to draw a faithful picture of the Hottentot of old: take from the latter some—though not much—of the filth and grease with which he was always so profusely covered—substitute a ragged, threadbare jacket, for the flowing "kaross"—leathern trowsers (called "crackers") for the "jackall," and "isosceles triangle;"—place a "shocking bad hat" on his woolly pate; and the reader will have a tolerable personification of the "Totty" of the present day: and his *female*, (for the creature can scarcely be dignified by the name of woman) inheriting that in-

[1] See Dr. Philip's "South African Researches," vol. i., pp. 68, 190, vol. ii., p. 176; Lichtenstein's work on South Africa, vol. i., p. 236, vol. ii., p. 96, as to missionaries and missionary stations in South Africa; and also the Appendix at the end of the volume.

nate love of finery to which I have before alluded, has now replaced, with a gaudy chintz gown and a crimson cotton handkerchief for her head-dress, her former rather primitive habiliments, so profusely adorned with beads, amulets, and the twisted entrails of domestic animals in every stage of putrefaction!

In personal appearance, the Hottentot race may certainly, without exception, be considered the least attractive of all the human species. Their unwholesome hue, like the "seared and yellow" leaf; their angular faces, woolly heads, small, twinkling eyes, flat noses, high cheek-bones, and "pouting" lips; form, it must be allowed, a *tout ensemble* which is far from prepossessing, and to which it must require long habit to reconcile a European taste. If to all these powerful attractions be adduced the still existing fact which caused them to be dubbed, by old Van Riebeck's followers, "black, stinking hounds"—for the modern Hottentot is redolent of aught save "Araby the blest"—it will be admitted that the white man who can choose a mate from such a race must be verily endowed with the very "strongest of stomachs."

Such has, nevertheless, been in this Colony an event of constant recurrence, from the olden times of the espousals of the bold "amateur adventurer," Meerhoff, with the gentle Eva, to those of more recent date; and when—if not greatly belied—we hear of holy men sallying forth to convert the heathen with a bible in one hand, and a Totty "vrouw" in the other—no wonder that their success should have been fully commensurate with the *dark* measures thus so unscrupulously brought into play!

Van der Kemp, the "first of the missionaries," set the example of marrying a native woman—an example which has been followed by many of his successors; some of whom—if report speak true—have formed similar connexions, though untrammelled by those sacred ties imposed on this "father of the saints," the quondam, dissolute dragoon officer, and avowed atheist![1]

To return to my subject. The Hottentots of the present day—men, women, and children—are, altogether, as I have observed, a most repulsive-looking race. I never beheld but one exception to this general rule, which was the solitary instance of a Hottentot woman, whose appearance and features strongly reminded me of those ancient Egyptian figures I had often witnessed in the mummy-pits of Saccarah and Dashour, near the great Pyramids of Ghizeh; a circumstance which, though trifling in itself, served rather to corroborate, in my opinion, that theory which has often been hazarded, of the Hottentot race being of Coptic origin.

This idea was entertained by Barrow, more particularly as to the Bosjesmans, or Bushmen, whom he—widely differing from others equally favourable with

[1] Van der Kemp was a captain of dragoons in the service of the Prince of Orange, from which he was dismissed, for some offence, and then became a professed atheist. Such is the foundation-stone of the South African missions! Van der Kemp, on turning "saint," actually *married* a Hottentot girl. The author does not wish to indulge in personalities, but could mention still more disreputable alliances, of more recent date, contracted between certain reverend gentlemen and Totty "vrouws," in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

himself to the African tribes—considers as the aboriginal inhabitants of Southern Africa.[1]

Nor does this appear to be a mere idle supposition; but on reflection, and to such as may be acquainted with Coptic characteristics and Egyptian antiquities, it affords, in my humble opinion, a very plausible theory.

So much for the analogy and difference, in past and present times, as to outward appearance of the Hottentots. But it must nevertheless be admitted that their intercourse with civilization has certainly been the cause of much greater improvement in their habits and manners, than might have been concluded from the foregoing description.

The Hottentot of old was a cruel, treacherous, and wily savage, without knowledge of God, or faith to man; with every inherent vice and brutalized propensity, he appears to have had but few redeeming qualities, among which, as I have before remarked, might be mentioned a total absence of selfish feeling, and an extreme love of friends and kindred; and these qualifications have been inherited to the fullest extent by their descendants. A "Totty," to this day, will share his last sixpence, his last piece of tobacco, or his last "soupje,"[2] with a comrade; though, whilst on "commando," or when engaged in border warfare, he slays without mercy his inveterate and hereditary foe, the Kaffir; greedily seizes his cattle and fires his kraals—their women and children he now invariably spares—although he unhesitatingly appropriates, as fair

[1] See Barrow's Travels, vol. i., pp. 282, 283.

[2] Pronounced *soupie;* the Dutch term for a "dram."

booty, whatever ornaments or trinkets he may find on their persons.

The Hottentot "ladies" of the present day are neither more prepossessing in person, nor purer in morals, than their mothers are said to have been before them. Nor are their "Baasses," or lords and masters, a whit less debauched and drunken than in the days of the dacha plant, of fermented bulbs and honey, or of their carousings at old Van Riebeck's expense. But, though sleep—when well gorged—and intoxication at any time, constitute, with them, the chief attractions of life, they may plead, in extenuation of the same, (what, much nearer home, is often considered as a valid palliation) that they never get drunk alone, when, like "gentlemen," they can do so in company.

Drunkenness is indeed their besetting sin; men and women now, as of yore, both smoke and drink to excess; tobacco and spirituous liquors being substituted for their former primitive means of intoxication. This—in spite of what the missionaries may say to the contrary—appears the amount of their conversion; and, though it cannot be denied that they now truly worship in the spirit, it is verily the spirit of gin, or Cape brandy—the canteen being the sanctuary where they pour forth their unbounded devotion, and on whose threshold may often be witnessed scenes of the most disgusting debauchery. Hottentots, both men and women, may here be constantly seen, in every step of intoxication: dancing and singing, wrangling and fighting; and the women, on such occasions, are, generally speaking, the most conspicuous actors; for, after tear-

ing off each other's rags, they then not unfrequently, whilst nearly in a state of nudity, belabour one another with blows, duly seasoned with horrible oaths and execrations, and the most obscene and disgusting language. Such is a not overdrawn picture—too often most true to the life—of wretches, whom Dr. Philip asserts—"may often be mistaken, in the streets of Graham's Town, for European ladies!"[1]

No animal is more gregarious, or sociable, than the modern Totty: let him, after the longest and most wearisome march across the arid Karoo—let him have only a cracked fiddle, a Jew's-harp, his "vrouw," two or three jolly companions, with a due supply of liquor and tobacco—when, forgetful of past labour, or actual weariness, and only thinking of present enjoyment—he will light a fire under the "bush," and drink, talk, sing, and dance around it, during the greater part of the night, thoughtless of the coming toils and fatigues of the morrow.

Though most fully appreciating the good things of this life, when actually placed within his reach, yet, such is the natural indolence of the Hottentot, that he will seldom put himself in the least out of the way, to go in quest of the same. Often, after a long journey, when half famished—often he will prefer the alternative of tightening his "girdle of famine," rolling himself in his blanket, and sleeping off the cravings of hunger, to the trouble of going to a neighbouring farm, where he might obtain the requisite supplies for his evening meal.

This said "girdle of famine" is a leather belt, worn

[1] Dr. Philip's "Researches in Southern Africa."

round the waist by most of the natives of Southern Africa. It is gradually tightened, when hunger is felt, without the means of satisfying the same; and, although a Kaffir or Hottentot will, at a single meal, devour, when procurable, as much animal flesh as would satisfy half a dozen Europeans, he can, with the above assistance—and when impelled by necessity—refrain from food for an extraordinary length of time.

In short, the Hottentot of the present day is a compound of the strangest anomalies; and appears to be made up of a mixture of the greatest contradictions and inconsistencies of human nature. Indolent, debauched, and drunken, as he naturally is; still, by a knowledge of the ingredients of his composition, and a judicious display of firmness, tempered by kindness and good treatment, he is easily to be managed; and, though no great reliance can ever be placed on him, in charges of trust, he—like the Sepoy, under European discipline and leaders—makes, when sober, a good and gallant soldier; and it is on the Cape Mounted Rifles—composed chiefly of this race—that many of the greatest hardships, fatigues, and dangers, of the last and former Kaffir wars have principally fallen.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BUSHMEN, NAMAQUAS, AND KORANNAS.

Interior of Africa still unknown—The Bechuana and Quaiquæ Races—The Baroas, or Bushmen—Hieroglyphical designs—Pigmies and Troglodytes—Predatory habits of the Bushman—Unjust obloquy cast on the Dutch Boers—Devastation caused by the Natives—Appeal of the Dutch Inhabitants of the Sneuwberg district—Retaliatory measures of the Colonists—Mistaken doctrines of Exeter Hall—Cruelty and voracity of the Bushmen—Affinity between Egyptian and Baroa objects of veneration—The Namaquas—The Korannas—Kora and the ox-hide—The Sukeïs, or Pot Dance—Baroa tradition.

The interior of the Continent of Africa continues, even to the present day, in a great measure unexplored and unknown; it may still be considered as the region of mystery and darkness; in every sense of the word, a complete "*terra incognita*;" and ages will possibly elapse, ere any accurate knowledge of this immense portion of the globe, together with that of the nations by which it is in all probability occupied, be in any way brought to light, or made available for purposes of commerce and civilization.

To the south of the Equator—with the exception of the line of sea-coast, and its immediate vicinity—absolutely *nothing* is known of the African regions under the torrid zone. Our geographical knowledge of this part of the world may therefore be said to commence at the tropic of Capricorn, where, although still in its infancy, it

gradually increases as we approach the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

Though this wide space be now occupied by various Tribes of Bechuana savages, there is every reason to believe that it was once exclusively in possession of the Quaiquæ race; for, even some years subsequently to European Settlements at the Cape of Good Hope, Hottentots were found as far north as Port Natal;[1] and within the last few years that enterprising traveller, Dr. Smith, ascertained the existence of a Hottentot population, not only in the interior districts bordering the tropic, but heard that such was likewise the case, as far as, and even beyond, that great sheet of inland water which, under the name of Lake Maravi, has so long been—and still continues to be—a matter of speculative interest to every geographer of the day. Dr. Smith also adds: "that, in the latter position, Tribes resembling to all appearance the Corannas, and speaking a similar language, existed yet in a state of independence, under chiefs of their own nation."[2]

The above circumstance, leading to the conclusion of the Quaiquæ having first come from the far north-east, would seem to favour the theory of the Hottentot race—though sadly deteriorated in point of civilization—having originally flowed from a Coptic source; leading hence to the belief that they formerly extended from the Red Sea, throughout the whole of the north-eastern portion of Africa, until gradually hemmed into its southernmost extremity, by the more powerful

[1] See Kolben, vol. i., p. 78; also Cape Records for the year 1688, p. 427.

[2] See Martin's History of Southern Africa, p. 243.

Tribes of the Bechuana and Kaffir races; who, from their difference in language, disposition, and physical attributes, are evidently derived from a separate and distinct origin.

I have before adverted to that proneness to error, to which travellers are exposed, in ascertaining the denomination of those uncivilized tribes, whose country they may for the first time explore. An ignorance of the language, or some accidental circumstance, first gives rise to an erroneous appellation; which the force of habit, or prejudice, often causes to be retained long after its fallacy has been fully discovered. Hence, our usual designation of the Quaiquæ race, (or, as the term implies, people of the "aprons"[1]) by the name of "Hottentots;" apparently in the first instance as inapplicable to them as are the terms of "Bechuana" and "Kaffir" to the savage hordes by which the former races have been nearly swept off the face of the earth; and whose utter destruction—contrary to the generally-received opinion—has only been averted, in consequence of that occupation of Southern Africa by Europeans—so long a subject of animadversion with deceived or interested parties—but which, in reality, was the sole remaining safeguard of the Hottentots, not only against their ever encroaching and unrelenting outward foes—the Kaffirs: but also from the more uncivilized portion of their own race—the plundering and savage Bushmen.[2]

The Quaiquæ names of mountains and rivers—still

[1] Probably so called, from those peculiarities mentioned by the several authors before quoted.

[2] See Thunberg; also "Records of the Cape" for 1776, p. 56.

retained in parts of Southern Africa, now occupied by the Kaffirs—corroborates the supposition of the Hottentot nation having at some former period occupied such portions of this continent; and also supports the assertion that it is not to European intrusion that may be attributed the destruction, as a nation, of this unfortunate race. It is a remarkable fact, favouring the theory of the Quaiquæ race being of Coptic derivation, that of all the uncivilized Tribes of Africa, the Baroas, or Bushmen of the present day, alone possess the acquirements so commonly practised by the ancient Egyptians, of representing by drawings various subjects from Nature. These—if I may so call them—hieroglyphical designs,[1] are still to be found in the hollow of rocks, and in secluded caves, in many parts of the country; and, though I have never had an opportunity of personally witnessing such designs, some facsimiles, given in Sir James Alexander's interesting work on Southern Africa, strongly reminded me of similar representations of the most remote antiquity I had often seen whilst residing in Egypt.

This circumstance duly weighed, would lead to the inference that, as the art of delineation is quite unknown to the Kaffirs, or Bechuanas; wherever such drawings are found—*that* part of the country, by whomsoever of those tribes it may be now possessed, must, at a former period, have been occupied by the Baroas, or some other race; and a clue might thus be furnished, to trace the derivation of this remarkable people to its original source.

[1] See Barrow, Alexander, and other writers, on the same subject.

"Indeed, from all the ancient accounts that have been preserved of the Egyptians and Ethiopians, a strange coincidence appears to exist between them and the modern Hottentots and Bosjesmans. In their general physical character, they bear a strong resemblance to the Pigmies and Troglodytes, two Tribes who are said to have dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Nile; and the character drawn by Diodorus Siculus, of some of the Ethiopian nations, agrees exactly with that of the Bosjesmans. A species of brutality is stated by him to prevail in all their manners and customs; their voices were shrill, dissonant, and scarcely human; their language almost inarticulate; and they wore no clothing. The Ethiopian soldiers, when called upon to defend themselves, or to face an enemy, stuck their poisoned arrows within a fillet bound round the head, which projecting like so many rays, formed a kind of crown. The Bosjesmans do exactly the same thing; and they place them in this manner for the double purpose of expeditious shooting, and of striking terror into the minds of their enemies."[1]

If to the above strongly corroborative evidence be adduced the assertion of a similarity between the Egyptian and Hottentot races in that peculiar physical conformation before alluded to[2]—a coincidence (applying, of course, only to the small proportion of the present remaining Coptic population of Egypt)—which however, I must confess, never came to my knowledge during a considerable residence in the latter

[1] From Barrow's Travels in Southern Africa, vol. i., pp. 282, 283.

[2] See Barrow, vol. i., p. 298.

country—if such an assertion be based on fact—then, Barrow's idea on this subject would seemingly rest on more substantial foundation than a mere idle theory; and in any case appears more consonant with probability—rather less far-fetched, and more in the common course of events—than the supposition of the Quaiquæ race being descended from the shipwrecked mariners of some stray Chinese junk; which had thus far wandered from its course, and been eventually stranded on the southernmost coast of Africa!

Be that as it may—and whether descendants of Sesostris, or Confucius—the Quaiquæ race of the present day, though divided into various ramifications, and speaking different languages, evidently derive the latter from a common origin;[1] and moreover possess attributes in common, which unquestionably stamp them as of the same family. The most marked of these are: that peculiarity of feature and physical conformation, and the extraordinary "click," or indescribable sound, common to their different idioms; and produced in the utterance of their words, by pressing the tongue against the teeth, or roof of the mouth.[2]

This peculiarity is more marked in the Baroas, or Bushmen, than in any other portion of the race; whilst with the Colonial Hottentots, who have now adopted for their language a sort of Dutch "patois," it is completely discarded.

The Hottentot race may at the present day be

[1] See Barrow, vol. i., pp. 290, 398.

[2] The "click" has been—comparatively speaking, of late—adopted by some of the Kaffir Tribes.

divided into four distinct branches—1st, those inhabiting the Colony; 2nd, the Namaquas, occupying that extent of arid territory along the western coast, through which flows the Gariep, or Great Orange River; 3rd, the Korannas, or Eastern Quaiquæ, spreading themselves along the upper portions of the Great Orange River; and thence, apparently in detached Tribes, (more or less broken up and dispersed by their hereditary foes of the Kaffir or Bechuana race) widely stretching to the north-east, over a vast portion of the African Continent to an extent which is still unknown; but where they have been found located at the furthest point to which discovery has as yet extended.

Lastly come the "Baroas:" that pigmy race, generally known to us as "Bushmen," or "Bosjesmans"—the Obiquas, Sonquas, Soaquas, Mountain Banditti, or Buschies—so often alluded to in the olden records of the Cape.[1] Their identity cannot possibly be mistaken,—the alleged aboriginal possessors of the soil—but who, among all the surrounding Native Tribes, have (since European acquaintance with this part of the world) been ever stigmatized as the "Pariahs" and outcasts of "Hottentotism;" whose hand, like that of the descendants of Ishmael, is still—and appears ever to have been—raised against every man; and every man's hand ever was, and is still, raised in self-defence against them.

Such were the relations this unfortunate but mis-

[1] See Kolben: and in the Authenticated Records of the Cape, p. 399, under the government of Van der Stell (1686) will be found that mention is made of the Sonquas as "commonly called "Bosjesmans."

chievous—and though diminutive, yet dangerous—race bore to the other Hottentot Tribes, on the first arrival of Europeans at the Cape; and such has it ever continued to be, in relation to every nation and class, with whom, since then, they have successively been brought in contact. The Dutch Boer, the Griqua, the Bechuana, the Kaffir, all entertain the same dread of, and aversion to, these dwarfish hordes; who, armed with their diminutive bows, and poisoned arrows, recklessly plunder and devastate, without regard either to nation or colour; and are in their turn hunted down and destroyed like beasts of prey, which in many respects they so nearly resemble.

Sparmann—who visited the Cape in 1776—says, that "the maxims of the Bushmen are to live on hunting and plundering, and never to keep any animal alive for the space of one night. By this means, they render themselves odious to the rest of mankind, and are pursued and exterminated like wild beasts, whose manners they have assumed; others are kept alive, and made slaves of." The Bushmen, are now no longer so formidable as they were some years ago, when, in endeavouring to repel their ever-recurring aggressions, the Dutch Boers of the frontier incurred the unmerited obloquy so undeservedly cast upon them, of being universally guilty of cruel and barbarous conduct towards those so called "unoffending Natives, the aboriginal possessors of the soil."

The falsehood of such charges is clearly shown by a reference to those authors, such as Thunberg, Sparmann, &c., whose works refer to the early period of the Settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, and which

distinctly state that aggressions of the most unprovoked and barbarous nature were ever commenced by the Bushmen; who, about the year 1770, became so powerful and daring, that; after having ruined and almost extirpated the existing Hottentot Tribes situated between them and the Colonial boundary of that day, (then confined within the Wienveldt and Sneuwberg Mountains) they also reduced to the greatest straits, and nearly succeeded in expelling the Dutch Settlers themselves, from their locations in that part of the country.[1]

The following appeal, made by the inhabitants of the Sneuwberg to Commandant Opperman, will show the condition to which the unfortunate Boers were then reduced, by the ever-recurring depredations of the Bushmen:—

"March 18th, 1776.—Sir,—The object of this my present letter to you is, that the best means may be employed to secure our temporal peace, that we may be thus preserved and restored. We have reason to desire this; for though peace is the best of all human enjoyments, the fury of the Bushmen still continues to our injury. Be pleased but once to think upon the great assemblages of these heathenish evil-doers, and we doubt not but your reflections will devise some means to assist us. So many thousands of Bushmen have united their inward anger and rapacity, and now oppress and injure us as they have never done before, as you may see by the enclosed report. Therefore, as

[1] See Authentic Records of the Cape, for 1776, during the government of Van Plattenberg.

in all human probability no peace is to be looked for through the strength and means of the inhabitants of Sneuwberg, as neither the trouble nor the expense we have incurred has produced any favourable change, but rather leads us to fear for our lives, though we have been before consumed by the land-ruining Bushmen, by the stealing of our cattle, which daily increases, so that we are too weak to make commandos, and still more to fulfil our just obligation to the Company. We, therefore, in this desperate condition, have recourse to our superiors. Oh! that the Almighty and our government might be induced by our sighs and prayers to assist us with such a force, that through their wise counsel we may preserve our farms; for some of us are already flying to save our lives, and what little we have left! But, with all this, we still have confidence, particularly in you, that we may be a little encouraged and restored in the month of August, by a powerful commando under your orders, and that, with the few cattle we still have left, we may yet prosper, so that one day or other we may be enabled to pay our just debts to the Company, and to our neighbours. But, alas! how does it stand with us? Some of us are almost entirely ruined, so that there is scarce any hope of recovery."[1]

Barrow, who wrote twenty years subsequently to the above, says:—"An inhabitant of Sneuwberg has not only the continual apprehension of losing his property, but he lives in a state of perpetual personal danger. Should he depart to the distance of five hun-

[1] See Appendix at the end of the volume.

dred yards from his house, he is under the necessity of carrying a musket. He can neither plough, nor sow, nor reap, without arms. If he would gather a few greens in the garden, he must take his gun in his hand."[1]

Does *this* look like oppressive aggression on the part of the "white man?" It is however no doubt possible—nay, more than probable—that a rude peasantry, far removed from the seat and control of an inefficient government, abandoned to their own resources for protection and self-defence, and aggravated by such repeated provocations, should—after constantly recurring loss of life and property—be extremely exasperated against the authors of their misfortunes; and that in a few cases retaliation may have been carried by them to an unwarrantable extent. Still allowance must be made for the great provocations they endured; whilst the character and conduct of their savage foes must be likewise duly weighed in the balance, ere judgment can, with any degree of justice, be pronounced. A reference to the "Records of the Cape" will however prove that, even in this state of things, the instructions issued during operations against the Bushmen were ever to "prevent the too needless shedding of blood, and the sending out commandos upon too light grounds."[2]

In accordance with that mawkish affectation of humanity so prevalent of late years, it has been the fashion to decry, and to cast obloquy in every shape on the Colonial Boers—a race rude and untutored, it is

[1] From Barrow's Travels, vol. i., p. 249.

[2] See Appendix at the end of the volume.

true—but brave, hospitable and kind; and who, though often forced in self-defence to adopt severe retaliatory measures against their barbarous foes, are as a body perfectly incapable of perpetrating those cruel acts so calumniously laid to their charge. So far from its being true, as asserted, that the Boers of the northern frontier took a savage delight in hunting down, dragging into captivity, and destroying the Bosjesman race; Barrow—one of the strongest advocates of the Native Tribes—bears distinct evidence to the reluctance invariably evinced by them whilst undertaking this duty, and in joining the parties ordered forth on such occasions, either to re-capture plundered property, or to punish some savage act of barbarity and spoliation.[1]

It is all very well for Exeter Hall gentlemen, snugly ensconced in their fire-side arm chairs, to issue, on the strength of false information conveyed by wretched adventurers—whose trade it is to earn a livelihood by such disreputable means—it is all very well for such persons to obtain a cheaply-acquired reputation of sanctity and humanity, by preaching a crusade in favour of barbarous tribes, as to whose real character and conduct they appear to be most completely in the dark. But, were they placed in the situation of those really persecuted and ill-treated men, whose conduct they so unjustly and so unmercifully decry, it remains to be proved if their clamorous exhortations to forbearance and conciliatory measures would be uttered, as hitherto, in quite so loud a tone of voice.

[1] See Barrow's Travels, vol. i., pp. 234, 235, 254; and the Appendix at the end of the volume.

The above remarks apply equally to the past and actual relations of the Colonists, with regard both to the Kaffirs and Bushmen. As I am however at present more immediately treating of the latter, I shall adduce a single instance out of many—and *that* (to avoid the appearance of giving one-sided evidence, in favour of my argument) furnished by one of the greatest advocates for the Native Tribes—of the treatment one of those "philanthropist" preachers might expect, were he transferred from the downy cushions of his pulpit to the desert "karroo;" and there should happen to fall into the hands of that "gentle race of shepherds," whose cause he has so warmly espoused:

"The Bosjesmans have been generally represented as a people so savage and blood-thirsty in their nature, that they never spare the life of any living creature that may fall into their hands. To their own countrymen, who have been taken prisoners by and continued to live with the Dutch farmers, they have certainly shown instances of the most atrocious cruelty. These poor wretches, if re-taken by their countrymen, seldom escape being put to the most excruciating tortures. The party above mentioned, having fallen in with a Hottentot at some distance from any habitation, set him up to the neck in a deep trench, and wedged him in so fast with stones and earth, that he was incapable of moving. In this situation he remained a whole night, and the greater part of the following day, when luckily some of his companions passed the place, and released him. The poor fellow stated that he had been under the necessity of keeping

his eyes and mouth in perpetual motion the whole day, to prevent the crows from devouring him."[1]

Picture to thyself, gentle reader, one of our worthy South African Hierophants in such a situation, making wry faces at the crows!

Time, a knowledge of and an occasional intercourse with people more civilized than themselves, have since the period of Barrow's visit to the Cape, (1795) and even from our earliest acquaintance with this part of the world, made little change in the habits and disposition of this extraordinary race.[2] The Bushman still continues unrelentingly to plunder, and cruelly to destroy, whenever the opportunity presents itself. His residence is still amongst inaccessible hills, in the rude cave, or the cleft of the rock—on the level karroo, in the shallow burrow, scooped out with a stick, and sheltered with a frail mat. He still, with deadly effect, draws his diminutive bow, and shoots his poisoned arrows against man and beast. Disdaining labour of any kind, he seizes, when he can, on the farmers' herds and flocks; recklessly destroys what he cannot devour; wallows for consecutive days with vultures and jackalls, amidst the carcases of the slain; and, when fully gorged to the throat, slumbers in lethargic stupor, like a wild beast; till, aroused by hunger, he is compelled to wander forth again in quest of prey. When he cannot plunder cattle, he eagerly pursues the denizens of the waste; feasts indifferently on the lion, or the hedgehog; and, failing such dainty

[1] From Barrow's Travels, vol. i. p. 400.

[2] See the works of Harris, Arbousset and Daumas, Martin, &c.

morsels, philosophically contents himself with roots, bulbs, locusts, ants, pieces of hide steeped in water—or, as a last resource, he tightens his "girdle of famine," and, as Pringle says:

"He lays him down, to sleep away,
In languid trance, the weary day."

THE BUSHMAN.

Whether this precarious mode of existence may, or may not, have influenced the personal appearance and stature of the Bushmen, it is difficult to say; but a more wretched-looking set of beings cannot easily be

imagined. The average height of the men is considerably under five feet, that of the women little exceeding four. Their shameless state of nearly complete nudity—their brutalized habits of voracity, filth, and cruelty of disposition—appear to place them completely on a level with the brute creation; whilst the "clicking" tones of a language, composed of the most unpronounceable and discordant noises, more resemble the jabbering of apes, than sounds uttered by human beings.

In support of the theory of the Hottentot race being of Coptic origin, may be adduced the circumstance (which, by the way, would equally apply to the Kaffir Tribes) of that total ignorance of, or rather marked repugnance to navigation, which characterized the ancient Egyptians; whilst a slight affinity may likewise be traced in the objects of their worship; for the only sign of veneration, if such it can be called, manifested by the Bushman, is a sort of superstitious feeling—not for the sacred Scarabæus of old—but towards an insect of the caterpillar tribe, called by them "n' go," which the Baroas appear to regard with a sort of superstitious awe and adoration;[1] and Kolben mentions that the Hottentots of his day likewise worshipped, or held in reverence, different kinds of insects.

While following up a theory supported on such slight foundation as the above, one important question must not be lost sight of; namely, what effect might not a similar climate, under nearly the same meridian, and the same relative north and south degrees of latitude—setting aside the idea of a common origin—what

[1] See Arbousset and Daumas, p. 255; Kolben, vol. i., p. 99; and Appendix at the end of the volume.

effect might not such a coincidence alone produce in assimilating the inhabitants of those opposite quarters of the African Continent?—a coincidence actually existing in the animal and vegetable creation of both countries; which I can myself vouch for, from ocular experience; which has been adverted to by others,[1] and may possibly have equally exerted its influence on the human species.

I shall now say a few words respecting the Namaquas, who were known to the Dutch so far back as Van Riebeck's time; and the latter mentions them as a race in every respect far superior to the other Hottentot Tribes, with whom he had hitherto been acquainted. Since that remote period, little has been done towards discovery in this part of Southern Africa, whose arid sterility offers serious impediments to the progress of the traveller; and possesses few charms to entice thither, either the trader, the settler, or the missionary.

The French traveller, Le Vaillant, visited this part of Southern Africa towards the end of last century; and Barrow, who followed in the same track shortly after the publication of the Frenchman's travels, exposes many of the—to give them the mildest term—inaccuracies therein contained.

The very few travellers who have since then penetrated into Namaqualand concur in representing its native inhabitants as the most harmless and inoffensive of all the South African Tribes, and at the same time more prepossessing in appearance than any of

[1] See Barrow, vol. i., p. 297; and the Appendix at the end of the volume.

that race. The Namaquas are taller in stature than other Hottentots, less addicted to plunder, and—what is no less strange—seem to live on terms of amity and friendship with their nearest white neighbours, the Dutch Boers of the Kamiesberg Mountains.

I shall conclude my notice of the Hottentot races of the present day with a few words on the Korannas; who, in Barrow's time, chiefly occupied the wide and barren extent of country between the Roggeveldt Mountains and the Gariep; from which tract they appear, however, to have been dislodged by the Griquas, (of whom mention will be made in the next chapter) and are, I believe, now only found to the north-east of that river, and along the distant banks of the Riet, the Val, and the Modder.

According to the traditions of the Korannas, they, at the time of the first arrival of the Dutch, occupied the districts adjoining the Cape; and, if their own relations are to be relied upon, the classic story of Dido and the ox-hide underwent, after the lapse of 2,500 years, a second edition on the opposite extremity of the same continent.

The following account of this transaction is extracted from the travels of Messieurs Arbousset and Daumas, two French Missionaries, whose long experience and knowledge of the native dialects have enabled them to furnish, in their lately-published work, details of the most interesting description relative to the various barbarous hordes, among whom they extended their exploratory wanderings:—

"In the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope there lived, some eight generations back, a Hottentot

Chief called Kora, whose name originated that of the tribe. It was with him that the Europeans, who first settled there, entered into treaty. According to an old tradition, they besought Kora to grant them as much land as they could surround with an ox-hide, cut into thongs. This appeared to Kora a very moderate request, and he granted it with the greatest readiness. But soon the strangers began to encroach upon the lands of the Natives, and war was the consequence. Kora was then alive. It is not known whether or no he was slain in battle, but it is known that he died young. He left as his successor a son called Eikomo. He also had to defend his territory against the daily encroachments of the Colonists. He could not long resist them, and he was ultimately driven back to the River Braak. Going from that place further to the north, he arrived among a numerous Tribe of Hottentots wandering on the banks of the Gariep, and called Baroas (the Hottentot Bushmen.)[1] He entered into treaty with them, and settled in that country, not far from the place where Griqua Town now stands. In that country lived and died Kuebib, Kongap, Kuenonkeip, Makabuté, and Kaup, the successors of Eikomo."

The Korannas, superior to the generality of Hottentots, and even to the Namaquas, in bodily strength and stature, are especially noted for their rapacious and cruel disposition. From the period of their migration to the banks of the Gariep, they have been a source of uneasiness and disquiet to all the surrounding Tribes. Provided with fire-arms and horses, they with

[1] See Cape Records.

impunity not only plunder the Bushmen, the women and children of whom they often carry off into captivity, but are even dreaded by the more warlike Kaffirs, whose power they likewise frequently set at open defiance.

Their propensity to plunder is only equalled by their habitual sloth and love of idleness; and the following description of their usual mode of life—when not engaged in predatory warfare—is furnished by a missionary who resided for a considerable time among them :[1]—

"Before the day has begun to dawn, the Koranna raises his head from his pillow, lights his pipe, and again goes to sleep. At nine o'clock, he wakes to smoke again; he drinks some cups of new milk, and again lies down. At eleven o'clock, after having smoked, he amuses himself sometimes with fashioning a bone into a tobacco pipe. Two o'clock comes round; he takes a hearty meal, smokes his pipe for the fourth time, and again to bed. Towards evening, he rises to smoke and drink his milk, and then lays himself down till the morrow."

The only time, when not engaged in the chase, or in predatory excursions, that this excessive indolence appears to be overcome, is at their periodical dances, which with them—in common with most other South African Tribes—are held in honour of and regulated by the age of the moon. The *Sukeis*, or "pot dance," calls forth, on such occasions, all their slumbering energies. They then set fatigue at defiance; gambol, during the whole night, by the light of the moon-

[1] See Arbousset and Daumas' Work, p. 26.

beams, to the sound of their rude musical instruments; and thus often spend several nights in succession, during which time the most shameless excesses, too gross even to name, are openly and unblushingly committed.

The foregoing is a rude outline, depicting the several Tribes of Hottentots known at the present day; a genus so marked by its distinctive attributes as not to be mistaken; and likewise most distinct in customs, arms, and language, from the Bechuana, or Kaffir race.

Although the different branches of the Hottentot family do not use the same language, still the characteristic idiom, the national "click," is common in a greater or less degree to all; though most strongly developed in the Baroa, or Bushman, the original stock from whence appears to have sprung this extraordinary people; who, according to their own traditions, originally came from the north and north-east, and were the first occupants of that part of Africa, now comprising the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and its adjacent territories.

"First," say they, "appeared the Hottentots, then the Caffers, and then the Bechuanas. The Hottentots adopted as their weapon the arrow; the Caffers and Bechuanas, their masters, took the assegai for theirs.

"From this, we gather that the Hottentots must have been the most ancient inhabitants of the land."[1]

[1] See Arbousset and Daumas, p. 263.

CHAPTER IX.

THE GRIQUAS.

Their origin and prospective influence on the Colony—The gentle Eva and Pieter Meerhoff—Their loves and travels—Their marriage—Meerhoff appointed Commandant of Robben Island—The Bastaards—Adam Kok—The Cherigriquas—Derivation of the name of the Griquas—They occupy the banks of the Orange River—Their predatory habits—Reclaimed by two Missionaries—Establishment at Klaar Water—Picture of a Griqua—The Chief, Waterboer—The Bergnaars—Missionary usurpation—The Rev. Dr. Philip—His grants of territory—Invasion of the Mantattees opposed by Waterboer—Encounter of the Griquas and Mantattees, near Lattakoo—Defeat and slaughter of the latter—Cruelties inflicted by the Bechuanas—Remarks on the Griquas and Boers.

Allusion has, in the last chapter, been made to the "Griquas," a race which, though probably unknown even by name to the generality of English readers, is—like the half-caste population in India—fast rising into importance in Southern Africa; and may, probably, in a few years greatly influence the course of events in that part of the world, which, from its unrivalled resources and fine climate, is likely every day to attract more and more the attention of our Government, as a point of emigration for a superabundant and starving population. Under these

circumstances, a passing notice of the Griquas, or, as they are sometimes called, the "Bastaards," may not be deemed wholly uninteresting.

The Griquas, who now constitute a separate, and, it may be said, an independent race and nation, located along the northern frontier of the Colony, are the issue of "liaisons" formed by the first Dutch Settlers with the Hottentot women of the Cape of Good Hope. And, though such connexions—often of a legitimate nature—were, from the great scarcity of European women in the earlier days of the Settlement, likewise not unfrequently contracted with liberated female slaves of Malay, and even Hindoo extraction—still, as a general rule, the blood now circulating in the veins of the Griquas may be said to flow from a Batavio-Quaiquæ source.

In describing the proceedings of Van Riebeck and his followers, mention has been made of a Hottentot female called Crotoa, who played a most conspicuous part in the affairs of the infant Colony, and was nearly related to Oedasoa, the powerful chief of the Cochoquas. She was brought up from early childhood in the family of Van Riebeck, under the name of "Eva," and became, from her knowledge of Dutch, and her influence with the surrounding Tribes, of considerable use in the intercourse of the new Settlers with the natives; and, at last, completely superseded "King Herry" in the office of interpreter, which, from his unblushing roguery, the latter was found quite unfitted to hold.

By her aptness and intelligence, but chiefly owing to her influence with Oedasoa—her sister being the wife of that chief—Eva thus proved of great service

in the early transactions of the Dutch with the Natives of the Cape; and, although Van Riebeck complains of her occasionally "leading him a dance;" of being sometimes not very "dignified in her deportment;" and, at others, of absenting herself without leave from the Settlement — "a trick" which, says he, "the thoughtless wench has often played us, throwing aside her clean and neat clothing, and resuming old stinking skins of animals, like all the other filthy female Hottentots"—still, with all her faults and frailties, the gentle Eva proved herself in the above named capacities of invaluable service to her employers.

Not only was she frequently deputed as an ambassadress to the surrounding Tribes—on which occasions "she was, according to their national custom, like a great lady mounted on an ox" — but she also accompanied, in their distant excursions, the "Amateur adventurers," so often referred to by Van Riebeck —those enterprising volunteers, who, during the very earliest stages of the Settlement, did more towards the progress of discovery than has ever since been effected.

"Pieter Meerhoff," of Copenhagen, a surgeon in the Company's service, is described as one of the most successful of these early travellers, who, while in search of the "Empire of Monomotopa," carried discovery at that remote period into the interior of Southern Africa to an extent which ought to shame our modern supineness of research. In these far wanderings, when, for consecutive days and weeks, the susceptible Dane and fascinating Hottentot were uninterruptedly left to the tender communion of their own

thoughts, under the protecting tilt of an ox-waggon; consequences such as might have been expected naturally ensued. "Frailty, thy name is woman!" quoth Hamlet; and the case of Pieter Meerhoff proved that, in one instance at least, the assertion of his countryman was correct; for Eva, "with too credent ear, then listened to his songs."

* * * * *

But Pieter was "an honourable man"—a character to which the old chronicles of the Cape most fully testify, for therein will be found duly recorded the following memorandum, under date of the 25th April, 1664, during the governorship of Commander Wagenaar, Van Riebeck's worthy successor:—

"This day, we published the banns of Pieter Van Meerhoff, surgeon, twenty-seven years of age, and the interpreter, Eva, twenty-one years old;—this will be the first marriage, according to Christian custom, which has ever taken place here, with any of the natives of this country."[1]

Shortly after this, we find it notified in the aforesaid Records, that, as a reward for his services, the surgeon, Pieter Meerhoff, was appointed to the command of Robben Island; and in this new Eden Eva became, like her prolific namesake of old, the mother of a new race, which, under the not very euphoneous appellation of "Bastaards"—not immediately applicable, it is to be hoped, to *her* progeny—rapidly increased within the Colony, both in numbers and importance.

During the government of Van der Stell, in 1685,

[1] See Appendix at the end of the volume.

it is recorded that instructions were sent out for the emancipation of the children of female slaves by Dutch fathers, whom, saith this humane edict, "the Company can have no idea of keeping in slavery, such children having no share in the faults of their parents; but, being indisputably children of our own nation, cannot be made slaves."[1] As none of the Hottentot Tribes were ever reduced to a state of slavery by the Dutch, we may infer from the above that the Bastaards consisted not only of a mixture of Hottentot and Dutch blood, but were likewise the progeny of Mozambique Angola, Malay, and even Hindoo slaves by European sires; for the old chronicles above adverted to mention the fact of slaves having been imported from Bengal, as well as from the Eastern Archipelago.

Towards the commencement of last century, a Bastaard, of the name of Adam Kok, having purchased a farm at some distance from the Cape, gathered around him many Hottentots and people of his own colour. These dependants rapidly increasing in number, Adam Kok sold his estate, and migrated, with his followers, into that part of the country occupied by the Hottentot Tribe of the Cherigriquas, from whom his own people are said to have derived their present appellation of "Griquas." Thence he wandered to the banks of the Gariep, or great Orange River; where, as acknowledged chief of this migratory clan, he transmitted, at his death, both his name and authority to his son; one of whose descendants, still, I believe, to the present day, governs that portion of

[1] See Cape Records.

the race now established at Philippolis, beyond the north-eastern boundary of the Colony.

The Griquas, until the commencement of the present century, continued to be an unsettled nomadic, and, undoubtedly, a most predatory Tribe. They wandered, with their herds and flocks, about the banks of the Great Orange River, little removed, by all accounts, from a state of the most savage existence; and recklessly plundering and destroying such of the Bushmen and Bechuana Tribes with whom they came in contact—either by design or chance.[1]

About this period, the praiseworthy exertions of two missionaries, whose names were Cramer and Anderson, caused the Griquas, in a great measure, to abandon their predatory and erratic mode of life—to build dwellings—and fix on permanent places of abode; the principal of which was at Klaar Water, afterwards commonly known as Griqua Town, to the north of the Great Orange River.

Since that time, great improvements have taken place in the condition of this heretofore uncivilized race. The Griquas have discarded with their karosses and scanty sheep-skin garments many of the barbarous habits of the native races amongst whom they so long lived, in—generally speaking—a state of incessant predatory warfare. They now, by degrees, assumed the European dress; in place of their former wretched huts, constructed more commodious dwellings; and, likewise, directed their attention to agriculture. Al-

[1] For many unjustifiable acts of this nature, committed by the Griqua marauders, obloquy has often been most unjustly cast on the Dutch Boers.

though beginning therefore to enjoy and appreciate many of the blessings of civilization, they nevertheless still managed to continue constantly at variance with all their neighbours—the Dutch Boers, on the one hand; the Bushmen and Bechuanas, on the other.

The following picture of a Griqua is taken from the work of Arbousset and Daumas:—

"The Bastaard is of middling stature, and rather thin in his person; he is of a tawny complexion; his hair is less crisp than that of the negro; he has a flattened nose, sunken cheek, high cheekbone, small eyes deeply set, and a flat forehead—the distinctive characteristics of the Hottentot race. He has no beard; a little down grows upon his upper lip, but seldom on the cheek, or the chin.

"In moral character, he inherits the phlegmatic temperament of the Dutch colonist, and the idleness of the Hottentot. Anger alone can rouse him from his habitual sluggishness. But, when that passion animates him, he is a true Hottentot—treacherous, malicious, and passionate; and he gives himself up to unrestrained rage and revenge."

The Griquas—of late years more formidable from possessing both horses and fire-arms—still continued during the first quarter of the present century (under the chieftainship of the great grandson of Adam Kok—the original founder of their cummunity) to pursue their system of pillage and warfare on all the surrounding native Tribes; by whom they, in their turn, were also occasionally surprised and plundered.

About the year 1822, internal dissensions—pro-

moted, it is said, by missionary interference[1]—caused a separation in the Tribe. Waterboer, an ambitious and enterprising man—though having Bushman blood in his veins, and, consequently, looked down upon as of an inferior race — was nevertheless acknowledged as chief by the greater part of the Tribe; whilst Adam Kok, with a small number of faithful adherents, who assumed the appellation of Bergenaars, was obliged to abandon Griqua Town, and to wander forth to the wilderness in quest of a new Settlement.

These Bergenaars are said, during their erratic career, to have been guilty of great atrocities towards the surrounding Native Tribes. After wandering about for some time, they were led by Adam Kok to Philippolis, a missionary station established by the London Society in the Bushman's country, to the north-east of Colesberg, considerably beyond the Colonial limits.

And now occurred a transaction of priestly assumption and usurpation, almost unparalleled in the annals of history; and only to be compared to such as were formerly arrogated by Papal pretension, during the dark ignorance of the middle ages. I allude to the unauthorized cession by the Rev. Dr. Philip, (Superintendant of the London Missionary Society,) of a tract of territory over which our Government asserted no sort of claim; and where a missionary station had been—on forbearance—allowed to be established, for the avowed purpose of conversion, and protection of the rights of the Bushmen, who were then in actual occu-

[1] See Thompson's Travels, vol. i., p. 141.

pation (though it could scarcely be called possession) of the soil.

The following account of this extraordinary exhibition of ecclesiastical power is taken word for word from "a letter written by Dr. Philip himself on the 1st December, 1832, and published by the Reverend W. Shaw:—"[1]

"I was strongly solicited," says this document, "by Adam Kok, to allow him to settle with his people in that district" (Philippolis.) "I told him that I should think of the matter when I came to Philippolis, and then give *my ultimatum*. After mature deliberation on the subject, I employed Mr. Wright to inform the Chief, Kok, that he had *my permission* to come with his people to Philippolis on this condition, *that he was to protect the Bushman Mission and Bushmen.*"

This was indeed setting the wolf to guard the lamb! The Bushmen were certainly themselves adepts in the arts of plunder and destruction; but the Bergenaars, with their horses and fire-arms, had of late fully proved —and that, under circumstances of great atrocity— that they could now easily, in *their* turn, plunder the robber, and destroy the plunderer.

The Missionaries had, however, a favourite theory to maintain; the Dutch Colonists were to be made scapegoats for the iniquities of the Griquas; and—whilst indulging a characteristic love of power and dominion— little scruple was shown by those who so illegitimately exercised it, as to the means of effecting their desired end.

[1] See "Results of the Publication of the Cape Records," p. 46.

Robbers as they proverbially were, the Griquas, in 1823, rendered equally to the surrounding native Tribes and to the Colony an inestimable service, by turning from its course a destructive torrent of barbarians, that threatened to overwhelm both the Natives and Colonists in a common ruin. At this period, Waterboer was called upon for assistance by the Bechuanas of Lattakoo, to resist an overwhelming invasion of a ferocious Tribe called the Mantattees, who—driven from the North-east by the still more ferocious Zoolah warriors of the bloody Chaka—like a cloud of locusts, overwhelmed and destroyed every thing which they encountered in their flight.

Anxious to stop this barbarous host ere it should approach his own capital, Waterboer—who proved himself, on the occasion, a most resolute and able leader—readily responded to the call; and advanced to the assistance of the Bechuanas with a hundred mounted Griquas, all well provided with fire-arms and ammunition. He rapidly pushed on towards Lattakoo, the threatened capital of the former people; a place—it might almost be called a town—of considerable importance; near which he encountered the savage Mantattee hordes, to the number, it is said, of fifty thousand warriors.

Nothing daunted at such an overwhelming force, and relying on the fleetness of his cavalry, and efficiency of their superior weapons, the gallant Waterboer unhesitatingly advanced to the attack; and the 25th of June, 1823, witnessed a contest, to which—for disparity of force—that of Cortez against the Mexicans of Montezuma can probably alone be compared.

Whilst the dark, dense phalanx of barbarians rapidly advanced, yelling forth their terrific war-cry, the Griqua Chief skilfully extended his little troop; then each man, dismounting, took a cool, steady, and deliberate aim, amidst the thickest of the approaching host. On a given signal, one hundred mighty "roers,"[1] doubly and trebly charged, poured forth their leaden showers upon the foe. As the unerring bullets grided through this compact and now weltering human mass; the swarthy warriors, evidently stunned and confounded at the effects of what—to them, no doubt—appeared the thunder and lightning of Heaven, wielded by human hands—wavered, hesitated, halted for an instant—but for an instant only—and then, uttering a fiendish screech, rushed on anew with all the redoubled fury of revenge.

The Griquas, however, awaited not their approach; but, vaulting on their well-trained steeds, and thus eluding the headlong charge, they galloped away unscathed across the plain; next dismounting, they reloaded, and halted until the enemy was again within certain range. Then followed another murderous discharge; and this manœuvre was repeatedly performed with the same unvaried success; until the Mantattees —whose numbers had been greatly diminished by such wholesale slaughter—at last giving way in despair, widely scattered themselves in their now precipitate flight, towards every point of the horizon.

The Griquas, exhausted by previous exertions, and weary of carnage, attempted not to pursue; but now

[1] Long guns of immense calibre, in general use by the frontier Boers.

took place one of those terrific scenes so common in South African native warfare, and which fully develops the real character of that sanguinary race.

Whilst the contest continued, the Bechuanas—perhaps prudently—left the field to their mounted allies; but, no sooner had the Mantattee host disbanded and dispersed, than, like vultures flocking around the carcase of a fallen animal, hundreds and thousands of their warriors—hitherto unseen—appeared to start in pursuit, as if from the very bowels of the earth; and, in *their* turn, the Mantattees experienced all those horrors of wholesale death and revolting cruelty, which they had so oft ruthlessly inflicted on numberless other savage Tribes, during their desolating career.[1]

Men, women, and children, were indiscriminately and mercilessly put to death; the latter—torn from the breast—were brained, by being violently dashed against the ground; and the frantic mothers underwent cruel mutilation, whilst in the unavailing act of supplicating for mercy; their outstretched arms, in this appeal, being instantly lopped off, for the sake of more readily obtaining the few paltry ornaments with which they might have been adorned; whilst other atrocities—too great to admit even of description—were wantonly perpetrated on the persons of the unfortunate and helpless females, by those demons in human shape.

[1] Chase, in his work on the Cape of Good Hope (p. 12), states that the consequence of the Zoolah incursions of 1822, and subsequently, was the destruction and dispersion of twenty-eight native tribes, amounting to 384,000 souls, "which cannot," adds he, "be attributed to white aggression upon their territory, or the influence of the accursed traffic in slaves, but from mere native restlessness and ambition."

These horrid scenes were witnessed and described by a missionary, of the name of Moffat, who accompanied Waterboer to the field; and who humanely, and at great personal risk, did his utmost—though with little avail—to prevent such atrocious and bloody deeds.

The Mantattees were thus stopped short in their destructive progress, by the well-timed exertions of a handful of men, under a skilful and determined leader; the whole Colony being, in all probability, thereby saved from the most fearful infliction; whilst heaps of bleaching bones, spread for miles and miles o'er the wide plains of Lattakoo, still bear evidence to the numbers of those fierce cannibal hordes,[1] from which our territories were then so providentially—almost miraculously—rescued.

"The Griquas are now," says a recent author,[2] "spread along the banks of the Gariep for 700 miles, and are in number from 15,000 to 20,000; of whom about five thousand are armed with musketry. They possess numerous flocks and herds, and abundance of excellent horses."

The Griquas are, in short, daily increasing in importance and power. We have acknowledged their independence; and, were we to follow the same judicious course with respect to the Dutch Emigrant Boers, these two people—whilst acting as a check upon each other—might, on the north and north-

[1] Cannibalism is often the necessary consequence of the wholesale destruction following the predatory incursions of the native tribes. See Harris, Arbousset, Daumas, &c.

[2] See Martin's "History of Southern Africa," p. 186.

eastern Colonial boundary, be converted into the safest and cheapest means of defence, against the constantly-recurring inroads of barbarism, on the limits of civilization.

I have, I believe, now briefly adverted to all the different known races of Hottentot derivation. The Bechuana and Kaffir Tribes will be treated of hereafter during the course of this work, in which I shall likewise —if my space admits—say a few words relative to the Boers, or white descendants of the original Dutch Settlers at the Cape; a class of people, who, since it became an English possession, have ever been treated —to our shame, be it said — with the most marked neglect, injustice, and harshness—not to say cruelty —on our part.

CHAPTER X.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

Cape Town as it is, and as it was—Wild animals—The Lion's Hill—The Trumpeter's Adventure—Silver Trees—Pine Groves—The Heerengracht—Park's Hotel—The Table d'Hôte—Passengers to and from India—Requisites for the South African Traveller, or Campaigner—Different modes of travelling—The bullock-waggon—Cape horses—The "Admirable Crichton"—A traveller's equipment—Official delays.

Although, on our arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, the capital, for the reasons above stated, presented a most deserted and desolate appearance; still, its broad, clean, and regular streets; handsome buildings, squares and promenades, overshadowed by magnificent oaks and pines; together with the extent of ground it covers, at once stamped Cape Town as one of the finest cities amongst our numerous Colonial possessions. And, could old Van Riebeck once again appear on this stage of his labours, he most assuredly would not now recognise the works of his own creation, in the great improvements brought about during the lapse of a couple of centuries. When, in 1652, the humble, though enterprising surgeon of the Dutch East India Company replaced the fragment of rock under which had lain buried the correspondence of the homeward-bound fleet; when, on looking round, he beheld a few

grass-covered huts between the sandy beach and the lofty forests then clothing the sides of Table Mountain; how little could he have anticipated that he was then laying the foundation of a city which has since attained to such importance and extent!

After ten long years of incessant labour, Van Riebeck left in charge of his successor a small mud fort, protecting a few thatched cottages and temporary sheds; and, although the gardens he had formed around the infant Settlement, and carefully stocked with European seeds and plants, began even in his own time to flourish and produce abundant returns; —the slower growth of the many fruit and forest trees imported from Europe still bowed to every rude blast, and were often uprooted by the fierce south-easterly gales, rushing, in fitful gusts, down the gullies of Table Mountain; whilst the plundering habits of the savage natives could with difficulty be controlled. An incessant warfare had likewise to be waged against hordes of wild beasts — lions, wolves, and panthers—which, issuing from the surrounding forests, nightly prowled around the newly-erected habitations, carrying off, indiscriminately, men and cattle. Troops of baboons, descending also from Table Mountain, would often make forays on the orchards and gardens; destroying in a single night the labour of weeks and months. Elephants, rhinoceroses, and hippopotami, frequented, in those days, the immediate neighbourhood of the Settlement; whilst the larger game of every description was so abundant, that the circumstance is recorded, of an eland (a gigantic species of antelope) being pursued by hunters into Table Bay,

captured alive, and taken on board a vessel, which there lay at anchor at the time!

The "Lion's Hill," overlooking the town, is said to have derived its appellation from a circumstance thus recorded by one of the old writers on the Cape:—

"Some say it receives its name from being formerly a great haunt of lions. About thirty years ago (1680), a very grim one took up his residence on this hill; and, for a considerable time, made woeful havoc among the cattle, and terribly annoyed the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, some of whom he devoured. He constantly retired with his prey to this hill; escaped all the snares that were laid for him; and none, for a long time, being found daring enough to follow him, and beat up his quarters, he became the terror and plague of the whole Settlement. At length, Mr. Olofberg, now Captain of the Fort, and at that time Lieutenant of the same, ventured to follow him with a fusee, and had the good fortune to rid the country of him *proprio Marte*."

In illustration of the numbers and daring of the lions at the earlier periods of the Settlement at the Cape, an anecdote is related by the same author, of a trumpeter, who whilst on duty had got drunk and fallen asleep on his post, outside the fort; in which helpless situation, being found by a prowling lion, he was unceremoniously appropriated as lawful booty by the latter, which, seizing him in his fangs, walked off with his prey towards the Mountain, in much the same manner that a cat would carry away a mouse. The extent of his danger had however—saith the old chronicler—apparently the effect of sobering as well as

awakening the drunkard; who fortunately, retaining his presence of mind, sounded such a thrilling blast with his bugle, that the terrified lion instantly loosed his hold; and Mr. Trumpeter, more frightened than hurt, lost no time in scampering back to his Corps de Garde.

Such occurrences, as may be imagined, are rather unusual at the present day; for savages, hyænas, panthers, and lions, have all equally vanished from the scene. The few wretched sheds and Hottentot huts of Van Riebeck's time have been replaced by broad, clean streets, composed of handsome houses. The primeval forests at the foot of the Mountain, which harboured so many savage denizens—long since felled to the earth—have made way for beautiful villas, surrounded by gardens and pleasure grounds, glittering with the graceful foliage of the Silver tree;[1] and those saplings—brought, with such praiseworthy foresight, by the early Dutch Settlers to this remote part of the world—have now expanded into darkly-waving pines, stately aspens, and magnificent oaks; whose wide-stretching branches would not at present disgrace the most ancient baronial domain.

* * * * *

From our quarters, at Mrs. Park's hotel, we commanded a view of one of the finest pine-groves I ever beheld. These magnificent trees completely enclose the noble square, or rather extensive parade,

[1] The Protea Argentea (called, by the Dutch, "the Witte Boom") is a beautiful tree bearing a cone like the pine, and is peculiar to the small peninsula between Cape Town and Simon's Bay.

covering several acres of ground, called the "Heeren Gracht;" in the midst of which stands the handsome building of the Commercial Rooms, and the far-famed library of Cape Town. Whilst sauntering amidst the tall, bare stems, under the darkly-canopied foliage of these venerable pines, the spectator—but for that unrivalled feature of the scene, the towering mass of Table Mountain—might almost imagine himself amid the wooded Sierras of Andalusia, or the wide-stretching Campagna of Rome.

Overlooking this noble area, stands the best "hostellerie" of the place—the "Clarendon" of the Cape—the aforesaid most excellent hotel being kept by Mrs. Parke; where capital accommodation and reasonable charges—together with the obliging civility of the good hostess, and the kind attentions of her very pretty daughters—always ensured a full complement of guests, consisting chiefly of East Indians; some, mere birds of passage; others, in search of health, spending their year or two of sick leave at the Cape.

The head-quarter ship of one of the regiments returning to England, after participating in the brilliant campaign of the Punjaub, happened to be at this moment in the Bay; and we envied not a little the gallant fellows whom we daily met at our convivial Table d'Hôte, then on the way home, to reap the well-earned reward of their labours. The recital of late exploits—when the genial circling bottle had in some measure thawed a modest reserve—enlivened that social and motley board, consisting of all the various classes of which Indian Society is generally composed—from the yellow-faced General-officer,

or wizen, bilious-looking civilian; bearing home—probably minus a liver—their ailments, honours, and rupees; to the beardless young writer, or aspiring, boyish cadet.

There also, commingled with the lords of the creation, might likewise be seen various and varied specimens of the gentler sex—portly, Juno-like matrons; who—spite of sallowish, "tallowish" looks—had evidently thriven, increased, and multiplied, in the land of the Sun, of currie, and rice, and ghee; young, pale, and interesting widows, apparently bowed down beneath the burden of recent bereavement, yet withal, looking most charming and dangerous in their weeds; simpering damsels, fresh from school, and led by motives of purely filial affection, or fraternal love, to the distant pilgrimage of the East; apparently unconscious that they might perchance meet, in that genial and glowing clime, with suitors and husbands, as well as fathers or brothers!

Alas! that the fiery breath of the hot desert wind should shortly toy amidst those bright, flowing locks, and wither the downy bloom of such fair and damask cheeks! Alas! that yon sylph-like form should be either doomed to droop and waste away beneath the scorching ordeal of the fiery blast, or else expand to unwieldy luxuriance, under the caloric influence of a tropical clime![1] Alas! alas! that a few revolving years should be destined to bring about such changes, in form and face, on these now fair, thoughtless, and happy girls; who perchance may then again find themselves seated at this very board, surrounded—in their metamorphosed state—by a host of

[1] The effect not unfrequently produced, on some constitutions, by a residence in a warm climate.

bilious-looking little imps, the exotic produce of an unhealthy clime—such as those youngsters even now flitting in the background of the scene, and jabbering Hindostanee, amongst the many Hindoo and Mahomedan attendants, gliding barefooted, silently, and noiselessly along—and whose swarthy though handsome countenances offer so strong a contrast to the snowy drapery of their Asiatic robes!

Such was, during our short residence at Cape Town, the evening coterie whom we usually met, after busily spending the day in making requisite preparations for the ensuing campaign. And here perhaps I may be permitted to give a few hints, as to the most necessary equipments to be provided by the embryo traveller, or campaigner, in Southern Africa. In the first place, it is not generally known that, with very few exceptions, every requisite article for an expedition into the interior can be procured on the spot, at Cape Town, quite as readily as in London itself. This rule is, however, more applicable to the campaigner, or traveller, than to the intended settler, or permanent emigrant; whose wants are of course more numerous and of quite a different description. I would nevertheless recommend every one going to the Cape—either as Campaigner, Traveller, or Settler—to take out with him the following articles, in addition to what he may require during the voyage:—

A light, double-barrelled fowling-piece, adapted to carry ball as well as shot, and a double-barrelled pistol; both to be fitted with flint locks, in preference to detonating ones; for, when sleeping under the "bush," as the priming is very apt to get damp;

this inconvenience—with a flint gun—is generally to be remedied without firing off the piece, or drawing the charge; neither of which operations can at all times be conveniently performed.

Saddlery of the best kind is to be procured at Cape Town; but, if economy be an object, it will be advisable to purchase in England horse-clothing, a saddle, bridle, and holsters. The bridle had better —dragoon fashion—be made to serve that purpose, as well as to perform the duties of a halter, by having the bit so fastened as to be easily removed with the reins. This will save both time and trouble, when, for the purpose of seeking their food at an "out-spann," the horses are turned adrift after being "knee-haltered;" both of which operations will be hereafter duly explained. The saddle—which by the bye must not be of too large a size, in order to fit the generality of Cape horses—should be abundantly studded, both in front and rear, with iron loops; or as they are—from their shape—termed, in Colonial phraseology, D's. These will be found of the greatest convenience and use in fastening and securing the traveller's cloak, leathern water bottle, &c. I would however recommend the placing of them to be left to the management of a saddler at the Cape. The holsters should be sufficiently capacious to carry in one pipe the aforesaid double-barrelled pistol; in the other, a brandy-flask, under which it would be advisable to stow, in a small compass, a few of the most requisite medicines—such as calomel, laudanum, &c.

To the above assortment, I would add an air mattress; which is light, and, when not inflated, occupies

but little space; also two or three of those articles known as "Vergette's" waterproof cloths; which will be found invaluable as a protection for servants, horses, and baggage, against dew and rain, whilst on bivouac; and, if to this list be added one of those recently-invented waterproof coats;[1] a pair of Warne's antigropolis boots; a shooting-jacket and waistcoat with capacious pockets; a pair of corduroy trowsers; and a broad-brimmed, brigand-like hat, shadowed by a good bunch of ostrich feathers—the personal equipment of the embryo South African traveller may be considered complete; and he will now only have to choose one of the two usual modes of conveyance, practicable in this part of the world—namely, the inside of a bullock waggon, or the outside of a horse.

The former slow and inconvenient mode of conveyance, introduced by the early Dutch Settlers, has, in the most unaccountable manner, kept ground in Southern Africa even to the present day; and as used in a country often without roads, and intersected by woods, rivers, water-courses, and deep ravines, appears to be so preposterous a custom, that I shall not even stop to point out its manifold objections, but at once refer to the mode of travelling on horseback; which for "light marching order" will always be found infinitely more expeditious and convenient, in every point of view. For this purpose, three or four hardy little Cape horses will be found amply sufficient; and these should not be high-priced, pampered, stall-fed animals; but good rough hackneys, reared by Swellendam farmers, and sold by them for about from sixteen to twenty

[1] Manufactured by "Grose," 94, Tooley Street, London.

pounds each. Mr. Crichton, a respectable saddler near the Heeren-Gracht, will, for a small and reasonable profit, readily procure such animals; and moreover most likely be able to put you in the way of getting a Hottentot attendant, accustomed to a frontier life in the bush, to accompany you in your travels.

This is however a most difficult article to procure; but, if you *can* catch a *sober*, rough-and-ready "Totty," who is able to cook a "carbonadje," look after your horses—in short, put his hand to any thing, and every thing—he will be found invaluable, and much superior to any European servant — a class here usually composed of discharged soldiers, who — in this part of the world — often turn out drunken, lazy, good-for-nothing fellows. We will however suppose that you are duly equipped, and satisfactorily suited with both man and horse; you must, nevertheless, again apply to the "incomparable Crichton" ere you can make a start.

Having, no doubt, pursuant to the foregoing instructions, brought out a saddle for your own use—Mr. Crichton will supply you with a country-made one for Mr. Klaas—Cupid, (or whatever may be the euphoneous appellation in which rejoiceth your sable esquire.) He will, also—if he have duly profited by the hints that were given him on the subject—be able to furnish you with, and append to one of the D's of the said saddle, a leathern bottle for carrying water, together with a pair of diminutive saddle-bags for Mr. Samboo's light marching order kit. He will moreover have the goodness to place on the back of the third, or led horse, a pack saddle, across which are to be

slung a couple of good large waterproof saddle-bags; whilst on the top will be securely strapped a small patrole tent of painted canvass, about three feet high by six and a half or seven long. This should not—including the two short poles to support it—exceed the weight of twenty-five pounds; and, if properly made, will be proof against any rain.[1]

Having now got on the back of the sumpter horse, both tent and saddle-bags, I shall proceed to give a few more parting words of advice, as to what I consider ought to be the contents of the latter; always bearing in mind that "light marching trim" must be the order of the day; according to which maxim, the kit of the *mounted* South African campaigner should not exceed the following list. To the traveller who trusts himself to the wearisome progress of the bullock waggon, these hints in no way apply.

Besides what he stands in (as he has been already equipped), I would strongly advise the man who starts on an exploring tour through Southern Africa not to encumber himself with more than a couple of check shirts; one or two flannel waistcoats; a pair of drawers; one ditto of loose, light trowsers (to wear when out of the saddle;) a couple of towels; two or three pair of socks, and a red woollen nightcap; with, perhaps, a pair of spare shoes (made of the soft untanned country leather.) These few articles can easily be stowed into the saddle-bags; and, moreover, leave room for a little tea, or coffee; some biscuits, and

[1] These small tents can be had in perfection at Graham's Town, where a respectable saddler, of the name of Stubbs, was much employed in their manufacture during the last Kaffir war.

salt, a couple of canisters of powder, and a few pounds of lead, with a small lantern, and tinder-box; whilst a kettle and gridiron (two indispensable articles) can be put into a separate leather bag, along with a pewter plate, and suspended from the pack saddle. A small metal wash-hand basin may be found of use, but I would recommend my traveller to forget, for awhile, the more refined operations of the toilet;—cut his hair short, and let his beard grow long; which whilst it saves time and trouble, will prevent the lower part of the face from being blistered by the sun; and he can always take advantage of a brook, or pool, to cleanse at once his person and "*personnel*." In short, there is no use mincing the matter; he must make up his mind to "rough" it; and if he cannot do this, he had better remain quietly by his fireside at home, and content himself with reading works of South African travels, without attempting to tread in the footsteps of their several authors.

If the traveller's means will admit of an extra attendant, and an additional spare horse, such accessories will, without retarding his movements, greatly facilitate his undertaking; and, I need scarcely add, that a pleasant companion or two, similarly equipped, good shots—ready to "rough" it, and who can be depended upon in the hour of need—would add infinitely to the pleasure, facility, and security of a trip into the interior of Southern Africa; and the party might leave Graham's Town with every chance of reaching the Tropic of Capricorn, and of returning to tell the tale of having done so.

Should it be no object to go overland, through the

western part of the Colony—if time be of consequence —and if the projected scene of exploratory operations lie to the north-east of the frontier; it may be more convenient for the party to steam round to Algoa Bay, and thence go to Graham's Town, the capital of the eastern province, where all the above preparations can equally be made, and from whence the point of final departure may likewise be taken.

Although our mission to the Cape were not of an exploratory nature, experience had sufficiently taught us, that during the course of a Campaign, such as the one we were about to be engaged in against an uncivilized race, preparations of the above nature would, in all probability, not be "*de trop*." I accordingly equipped myself in the manner described; and having heard that horses were not then to be procured on the eastern frontier; two or three of our party having purchased at Cape Town animals such as we deemed suited for our work, next freighted a vessel, and lost no time in despatching them to Algoa Bay.

With respect to the "seven staff officers"—as we were now denominated at the Cape—although the home authorities had apparently deemed our instant departure —together with the arms, ammunition, and specie—of such momentous importance; to our no small disappointment, we found ourselves on arriving at Cape Town in company with all these sinews of war, treated with the greatest indifference. The very Burgher force we had been especially sent out to command and organize, had been most unaccountably dismissed, and were then returning to their respective homes. All we could hear relative to the Campaign was, that it

was making no progress at all; as, apparently from want of grass for subsistence of the cattle—provisions for the troops—and commissariat means of transport—every thing was at a complete stand-still. Seemingly determined that we should do the same, the high and mighty official, who—in the absence of the Governor—stood at the helm of Government at the Cape, appeared little disposed to afford our party any facility in expeditiously reaching, with the important supplies we had brought out, the still distant scene of so called "operations."

It is true that Colonel Piper, of the Engineers, the senior military officer and temporary Commandant at Cape Town, did every thing in his power to forward our views; whilst Captain Jervois, of the same corps, his second in command, likewise kindly lent his aid for a similar purpose; and I take this opportunity of returning my best thanks to both these gentlemen for their friendly services on this occasion. But the "great civil official" above alluded to treated us with a cold, formal, sort of "Jack-in-office" politeness, nowise consonant with our impatient feelings; and would, in all probability, have consigned us and the rest of the "investment" either to the tedium of a seven hundred miles' waggon march overland, or to the uncertain progress of a small coasting vessel; had not the energetic remonstrances of Lieutenant-Colonel Mackinnon, the senior officer of our party, caused an order to be issued for our transport by the same conveyance which had brought us out from England; and in which it was at last decided that we should, in a few days more, embark at Simon's Bay for the Eastern Province.

CHAPTER XI.

DEPARTURE FOR THE FRONTIER.

Preparations for the Campaign completed—Departure from Cape Town—Excellent roads and conveyance—Teams of Oxen—Village of Rondebosch—Whirlwinds—Beautiful scenery near the Salt River—Variety of fruits—A romantic region—Village of Wynberg—Difference of temperature in Southern Africa—The vine-clad Constantia—Capture of the Cape by the British, in 1795—The "Gentle Shepherd"—Simon's Bay and Town—Steamer to Port Elizabeth—A ramble amid the rocks—The contented old mariner—The emigrant's song.

All our preparations for the campaign being at last duly completed, and having obtained an order for the transport by steam to Algoa Bay, both of ourselves, and of the valuable supplies sent out for the use of the force in Kaffirland; we at last received intimation that her Majesty's steamer "Inflexible" was ready to re-embark us at Simon's Bay, the usual anchorage of men-of-war at the station of the Cape of Good Hope; and whither most vessels resort at this time of the year, when the south-easterly gales generally set in with their accustomed violence. As may easily be imagined, we were not slow in obeying this long anxiously-looked-for summons; and, taking leave of our friends in the Heeren-Gracht, six of our number were soon closely packed in a large omnibus drawn by

half a dozen horses, and tearing away at a fearful rate over the excellent macadamized road, (so different from the almost impassable sandy tract mentioned by Barrow) which now leads from Cape Town to Simon's Bay, a distance of about twenty-four miles. First-rate "coachmanship" is one of the characteristics of this part of the world; and the number of animals, whether horses or bullocks, of which the teams are composed, cannot fail to strike the stranger with surprise. It is a common occurrence to see waggons drawn by fourteen and sixteen oxen, two abreast; and the substantial Dutch farmer of the neighbouring districts often drives with eight horses to Cape Town, in a similar but rather more finished sort of vehicle—the spirited team of which is managed in a style that completely outdoes the most skilful knights of the "ribbons," the oldest stage coachman, or most renowned members of the "Four-in-hand" Club at home.

After passing the Castle, and leaving behind the old and now ruined line of fortifications running from the base of Table Mountain to the Bay, we soon entered—ere reaching the village of Rondebosch,—a barren denuded tract of land; which, as Kolben says, "is almost continually infested with the most impetuous whirlwinds."

Some local cause, or peculiarity in the shape or position of the adjoining hills, is, no doubt, the reason why this spot should be so constantly swept by every blast that blows. It appears indeed to be the exclusive property of Eolus; nor did the blustering God allow us now to pass, without affording a specimen of those powers, which have twisted into such gnarled and fantastic

shapes the few dwarfish and deformed pine-trees, standing like monuments of desolation on so ill-favoured a locality.

No sooner, however, had we rounded the shoulder of this ever-wind-swept eminence, and passed the village of Rondebosch, than we entered on quite a different climate; whilst the luxuriance and beauty of the surrounding scenery appeared to increase at every step as we advanced. Substantial farms and beautiful villas, corn-fields, orchards, gardens and vineyards, appeared, as if by magic, to have sprung out of the desert waste. From the following description of this charming landscape, situated between Rondebosch and Wynberg, and written nearly one hundred and fifty years ago, an idea may be formed of its beauties at the present day; when so much additional cultivation and improvement have since then taken place.

"The lands about the Salt River," says Kolben, "are divided into fine fruit-gardens, charming pleasure-gardens, noble vineyards, and lovely corn-fields, all of them first planted by M. Van Riebeck, the first Governor of the Cape. A noble garden and vineyard on Bush-hûbel, as it is called, (i.e. Bush-hill) seen in this quarter, were likewise first planted by that gentleman—an estate of distinguished beauty and fertility.

"Into these gardens have been transplanted, at great trouble and expense, most sorts of valuable fruit-trees that are seen in Europe, and they prosper here to admiration. The several sorts of the European apple and pear produced here, excel, in my opinion, the most delicious of the like sorts produced in Europe, both in goodness and flavour. The European grapes

produced at the Cape are most delicious fruit, as are likewise the Persian grapes, and the grapes of several other countries, with which these gardens, and most others at the Cape, abound. Chestnuts here are excellent, and in great plenty, as are likewise lemons, oranges, citrons, figs, Japan apples, and a great many other fruits, which the Cape soil and climate receive with the highest generosity, and bring to the highest perfection."

As we rolled rapidly on, along the smooth, level, hard road, running through this delightful region; shadowed overhead with stately pines and magnificent oaks, already displaying the gay-coloured foliage of the early spring;[1]—Civilization and Cultivation appearing to have wandered hand in hand through this lovely South African Eden—we moralized on the scene; and the thought naturally occurred, how much more advantageously were now dispensed these bounteous gifts of Providence, than at the period when the possession of such fair tracts of land was disputed by beasts of prey, with a set of barbarous savages—as cruel, bloodthirsty, and nearly as brutalized, as the ferocious animals with which they had daily to contend. Let any one visit the neighbourhood of Wynberg and Constantia, after reading the old chronicles of the Cape; and he will require no further proof of the futile puerility of those "Jean Jacques Rosseau" opinions and Utopian arguments, extolling the primitive savage state, over that of culture and civilization.

[1] It is a remarkable circumstance that the oak, transplanted from Europe—where it is nearly the last tree of the forest which assumes its vernal garb—should, in Southern Africa, be almost the earliest to be covered with foliage.

On approaching the pretty village of Wynberg, about eight miles from Cape Town, the scenery assumes a different, more varied, and more romantic character. The vineyards, gardens, and long avenues of oaks, now give way to magnificent forests of dark, waving pines; which, with the many tribes of the Protea and graceful "witte-boom,"[1] appear here to luxuriate in a loose, dry, and sandy soil. At some distance on our right, abruptly arose the precipitous sides of the Devil's Mountain, whose bare and rocky summit was now shrouded in fleecy clouds, most rapidly driven along by the south-eastern wind. These vapours, arising from the Pacific Ocean, deposit their moisture on the summit of this elevated range; thus ever renewing the sources of those many tiny streams, running—like silver threads—down its darksome, craggy sides; until, lost amidst the dense masses of forestry, gigantic heaths, and flowering shrubs, which clothe the mountain's base; and thence creep up, with gradually diminished growth, to nearly its midway height.

Wynberg—as I subsequently found by the experience of a residence there of some duration—is undoubtedly, with respect to climate, one of the most favoured spots upon the earth. Here extremes of temperature are rare; and, from local causes, it is subject

[1] "The Protea Argentea," already alluded to, and mentioned by nearly every author who has written on this Colony as indigenous to and thriving only on the peninsula of Cape Town. By its rapid growth, it constantly supplies the inhabitants with sufficient firewood for their consumption. Hence, large tracts of otherwise unprofitable and barren land are turned to advantageous account, by being thickly planted with this beautiful tree.

neither to the intense heat, nor to that excessive violence of wind, which are the greatest drawbacks to a residence in Cape Town.

"In the summer months," says Barrow, "there is at least from six to ten degrees of Fahrenheit's scale, in the difference of temperature between Cape Town and Wynberg, whose distance is only seven or eight miles; owing to the latter being on the windward side of Table Mountain, and the former to leeward of it, from whence also the rays of the meridian sun are thrown back upon the town, as from the surface of a concave mirror."

The difference of temperature here alluded to is in the natural course of things; but it is a more remarkable circumstance, that in the summer season—during the prevalence of the south-eastern gales—the influence of the latter should not be felt where it might be most expected; namely: to *windward* of Table Mountain; and Wynberg is then little exposed to their angry blasts, the effects of which completely cease on approaching the mountain's base, whose summit appears alone to attract these boisterous winds, which next rush down its *leeward side;* and whilst Cape Town is thereby convulsed as with a hurricane, the beautifully wooded and watered little valley, at the base of the Devil's Hill, in the neighbourhood of Wynberg, is enjoying the serenity of a perfect calm.

* * * *

Widely stretching to our left, lay that level, bare, and barren tract of sandy heath, separating Simon's from Table Bay; and through which Van der Stell, one of the early governors of the Cape, commenced the gigantic

undertaking of cutting a canal; a work which to this day has never been completed, or even resumed.

The pretty village of Wynberg is now behind us; and, on issuing from the "brown horrors" of a long, darksome avenue of pines, extending nearly a mile in length, another change comes o'er the spirit of the scene; for as we are rapidly whirled along a broad, raised, and well-constructed causeway, we next behold those extensive fenny bogs, where the bold "jager" of old frequently slew the hippopotamus, the rhinoceros, and savage buffalo; whilst he tracked the wild elephant to the, then, dense forests of Hout Bay. But those times are past, never again to recur;—lions, panthers—even hyænas—have now completely disappeared; and the degenerate Cape hunter of the present day is fain to "wind horn and halloa hound" on an occasional timid duiker,[1] or skulking jackall.

Though the sincere lament of the sportsman, and the hypocritical plaint of the pseudo-philanthropist, may now loudly resound—one at the disappearance of savage animals, the other at that of savage men—did both these so-called "aboriginal possessors" of the soil (barbarians and wild beasts) still retain their first footing in this part of the world, far different would now be the appearance of the peninsula of the Cape, and more particularly that of the far-famed regions of Wynberg and Constantia. In vain should we at present look for either corn-fields, or gardens—for substantial farm-houses, or elegant villas—for the temples of the

[1] A pretty little animal of the deer species, which derives its name (meaning "diver") from the manner in which, when pursued, it bounds over and through the bushes.

true God, overlooking a land teeming with peace and plenty, and supporting a useful and civilized population;—in vain should we now seek those sunny vine-clad slopes, which the old Dutch Governor, Van der Stell, so conjugally dubbed "Constantia," in honour of his absent though not forgotten wife.

Had savage hordes continued, as before Van Riebeck's time, to stain with human gore these Elysian fields; teeming vineyards would ne'er have clothed the "Witteboom" hills;—the transplanted muscadel would never in this distant spot have yielded up its luscious treasure—that soothing nectar, "sent to England to soften the temper of ministers, and to sweeten the lips of royalty itself."[1] This ruby vintage would never have been produced; nor should *we* have e'er sipped its sweets, at the truly patriarchal board of the present owner of High Constantia: the worthy and hospitable Sebastian Van Reenen—long may he live to welcome the stranger amidst his numerous, happy, and united family!

We now approached the base of those barren, rocky hills, bounding on one side the pass of Muysenberg; near that part of Simon's Bay where the British force, which first captured the Cape, effected a landing in the month of August, 1795; and, whilst our charioteer pulls up to refresh and change horses at the door of a small public-house, rejoicing in the Arcadian name of the "Gentle Shepherd," the following extract relating

[1] From an interesting work, entitled "The State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822," by a civil servant, to which the reader is referred for much information as to that Colony. See Appendix at the end of the volume.

to that important event (the capture of the Cape, not our halt at the "public") may perhaps afford some interest to the general reader:—

"In the same period (August, 1795) the Cape of Good Hope was attacked by a British squadron, under Sir George Keith Elphinstone, and a military force led by Sir Alured Clarke. All the troops that were landed, regulars, seamen, and marines, amounted only to sixteen hundred, entirely destitute of artillery; the enemy possessed a large train, and infinitely superior numbers of men, but they consisted principally of Hottentots and burgher militia. They had a camp at Muyzenberg, strongly placed and well fortified, flanked by a steep mountain on the right, and Simon's Bay on the left, the shores of which cannot easily be approached, because the water is shallow, and the surf high. Due preparations having been made, Major-General Craig put his forces in motion, and Commodore Blanket assisted with his squadron. Difficulties and resistance were surmounted: the Dutch precipitately abandoned their camp, and with their artillery retired to a ridge of high rocks. A reinforcement of men, artillery, and provisions, under General Clarke, enabled the English to advance to the post of Wynberg, a tongue of land projecting from the Table Mountain. Governor Sluysken, alarmed at these appearances, sent to require a suspension of hostilities for forty-eight hours, that he might arrange terms of capitulation. Twenty-four hours were granted, at the conclusion of which the Colony was surrendered, the garrison becoming prisoners of war."[1]

[1] From Adolphus's History of England, vol. vi., p. 318.

It may be added, that the chief resistance we experienced at the pass of Muysenberg was made by a body of Hottentot troops, afterwards taken into British pay—the original nucleus on which was subsequently formed that useful Corps known as the "Cape Mounted Rifles," and which has since rendered such invaluable service, during our repeated contests with the Native Tribes on the eastern frontier.

No longer under the sheltering protection of the Wynberg hills, we here felt in its fullest extent the keen influence of the south-easterly blast; which, sweeping across Simon's Bay, and bearing before it clouds of dust and sand, rushed in eddying whirlwinds through the Muysenberg pass; and appeared, as through a sieve, to penetrate the wretched hovel, where we partook of a coarse homely repast, for which—by the bye—the most extravagant charges were exacted.

Starting with a team of fresh horses, at the usual rattling pace, we were soon winding along the foot of the rocky, sterile crags bounding the western frontier of Simon's Bay. Every variety of scenery and landscape appeared to have been combined in the course of our interesting drive. The smiling gardens and vineyards—the gay foliage of the overshadowing oaks—the darksome gloom of the pine forest—the barren heath and the fenny bog—were now exchanged for a wide expanse of white-crested billows, raging along an iron-bound coast, and furiously lashing the base of the grey toppling rocks, out of whose sides our spray-covered path appeared to have been most laboriously scarped away. Here and there, as the receding rocks afforded an occasional small level space, might be seen

a few humble fishermen's cots; the neat little gardens of which were invariably fenced in with the spoils of the leviathan of the deep—ribs of the mighty whale here doing duty for hedge and stake—whilst crimson-flowered and ivy geraniums, every variety of the cactus and aloe tribe, with luxuriantly-blossoming gigantic heaths, filled up the intervening gaps; and gay nasturtia—here likewise growing wild—twined their supple tendrils around those gigantic relics of the monsters of the deep.[1]

We appeared to have here reached the boundary of "Macadam's" sway, and were now unmercifully jolted over rocks and stones. But another sudden transition soon again came over both scenery and road. The tall grey crags so lately toppling overhead have now receded into yon jumbled and chaotic mass of rock, and hill, and dale; high undulating sand-banks, whose white dazzling crests look as if coated in Alpine snow, next oppose their gigantic waving billows to our rugged path, and cause us to diverge to the here smooth, apparently hard, and sandy margin of the sea. Over this level surface, however, the most skilful pilotage is required; for the perennial streams—which from the hills above, winding their devious course towards the Bay—often cause here most treacherous quicksands, the more difficult to avoid as they frequently shift from place to place.

Both rocks and quicksands being safely passed, after this pleasant drive of some four-and-twenty miles, performed in little more than two hours and a half,

[1] The whale fisheries at Simon's Bay were some years ago on a very extensive scale.

our vehicle noisily rattled up the long straggling street composing "Simon's Town," and deposited us at the door of the "Clarence;" the only so called "hotel" in the place; where, many years before, I had for some time taken up my quarters, when touching at the Cape on a homeward-bound voyage from the East.

Simon's Bay, or, as it was formerly called, the "Bay of Falso," derives its present name from the Dutch Governor, Simon Van der Stell, (the founder of Stellenbosch) who, towards the close of the seventeenth century, first discovered the superiority it possesses, as a place of anchorage, over Table Bay. The old chronicles of the Cape minutely record this event, at which Van der Stell appears "to have been much elated with the advantages which he had there found for the Company." These advantages were indeed manifold; and there can be no doubt that the seat of government of the western portion of the Colony—instead of being fixed on its actual site—should have been established either at Saldanha, or Simon's Bay; the latter possessing, however, the additional recommendations of ingress and egress, at nearly every period of the year; and being moreover tolerably supplied with fresh water, which at Saldanha Bay could only be obtained by the construction of works, at a considerable outlay of both labour and capital.

Simon's Town—although the only naval depôt of the Cape of Good Hope—can at best be termed a dirty, straggling, fishing village; such as are often to be met with on the coasts of Spain, or in the South of Italy. It now certainly boasts of a naval dock-yard

and store-houses; a tolerable residence for the Admiral in command; a small church, one "pseudo" hotel; and other "public" buildings—resorted to by the crews of vessels in the Bay—and known in common parlance as "gin palaces," or wine shops. In other respects, little improvement appears here to have taken place since the time of Barrow, who has drawn anything but a favourable picture of Simon's Town.

The steamer which was to carry us round to Port Elizabeth lay at anchor in the Bay, close to the shore; but further vexatious delays occurred, ere we were enabled finally to make a start; during which I wandered about with my gun among the adjoining hills, in the vain attempt of getting a shot at a buck, or any other sort of game. The only signs of animal life which I could discern, were the brilliant little honey birds, gaily fluttering around, as they sipped the flowery sweets from the endless varieties of Ericæ, Proteas, and other—to me—strange and beautiful shrubs, thickly growing from the fissures of the adjoining rocks. The very ground was, at this vernal season, thickly carpeted with flowers of every hue, bulbous plants of all descriptions, and different tribes of the mesembryanthemum, or Hottentot fig, widely creeping over every sandy tract, and here used for a variety of medicinal purposes.

In these solitary rambles, the variety, beauty, and gigantic growth of the various species of heaths and ferns could not fail to attract my attention; and, though able to boast of little in the way of sport, I felt amply repaid, by the novel and magnificent scenery around,

for the fatigue of my toilsome excursions, amidst the steep rocky mountains of this southernmost extremity of Southern Africa.

During one of these wanderings, I stumbled on a small thatched cottage, or rather hut, in a remote and secluded dell. Hot, thirsty, and fatigued, I gladly accepted the proffered hospitality of the aged man who owned this humble abode. He regaled me with all he had to offer—a draught of milk, with some coarse bread and fruit—whilst partaking of which, I learned from him the story of his life, and what had brought him to such a distant, unfrequented spot. Mine host, apparently between seventy and eighty years of age—an Englishman by birth, and brought up to a seafaring course of life—was one of the few survivors belonging to the crew of a ship, which nearly half a century ago had been wrecked upon this stormy coast. After wandering about for some time, he at last took to himself a native wife, and settled down in this retired spot; where, "the world forgetting and by the world forgot," he has happily and contentedly spent so large a portion of his life; and hopes, as he said, at last quietly to end his days.

"Here," said the philosophic old mariner, in a half English, half Dutch idiom of his own, but to the following purport: "Here I am happy, and want for nothing. Whenever I feel at all out of sorts, I walk up to yonder bluff "kopf," or headland—I look at the boisterous waves buffeting some unfortunate bark—such, say I to myself, was *my* former position in life; I then turn round and look down on my humble cottage, in this quiet and sheltered kloof; on my sons, working

in the field or garden; on my daughter, with her little ones prattling around; on my two cows, and my flock of goats. 'Mutinous lubber!' I then invariably exclaim, 'what more dost thou want?' and not being able to answer this question, I always return happy and contented to my pipe and sunny seat, here on the stoep."[1]

"Sermons are," saith the poet, "to be extracted from stones—good from everything;" and I trust that the moralizing of the old sailor was not entirely lost on his auditor. He further informed me that he now owned about two hundred acres of land, for which he paid a yearly quit rent of two pounds sterling. Though it certainly was not of first-rate quality—only cultivated here and there, and chiefly used as pasture for cows and goats—still it abundantly supplied both himself and his numerous family with all the necessaries of life; and, albeit luxury was to him unknown, he never felt the sharp pangs of want.

Wretched inmates of English workhouses! famishing peasants of Ireland! destitute paupers of an overcrowded land!—follow the example of the old mariner of the "Claver Valley;" leave the scene of starvation, the land of corruption, of title and wealth; and pitch your tents—"not near the eastern frontier[2]—but anywhere else in the wide extent of the Colony of the

[1] The "stoep" is a narrow terrace raised outside most of the Dutch houses, where the owner may, towards evening, be generally seen smoking his pipe.

[2] For, whilst the Kaffirs are on this side of the Kye, no *permanent* security can be expected.

Cape of Good Hope![1] Gird up your loins without further delay, and exclaim:—

"Let us go forth from our old home for ever!
Why should we linger on this crowded spot?
Think how I've striven, yet with a vain endeavour
Year after year, and yet how poor our lot!
Far from this land where wealth alone has power,
Where honour, worth, and genius, but decay—
Or live the idol of the fleeting hour,
Let us go forth—from hence—far, far away."[2]

[1] The above was written ere the promulgation of that arbitrary decree which—if carried into effect—will convert the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope into a *penal* settlement, contrary to the universally expressed wish of its injured and much to be pitied inhabitants. See Appendix at the end of the volume.

[2] From the "Emigrant's Song," by J. E. Carpenter, Esq., in the "New Monthly Magazine" for September, 1848.

CHAPTER XII.

THE KAFFIRS OF LAST CENTURY.

The Bechuana races—Matabeles, Mantattees, Zoolahs, Amapondæ, Amakosæ—Kaffir Tribes—Derivation of name—Van der Kemp—Lieutenant Moodie's Records of the Cape—Unjust accusations brought against the Colonists—Kaffir depredations—Chief of the Amakosæ race—Kaffir encroachments—Van Plattenberg—Boundary of the great Fish River—The first "Commando"—Death of Jalamba—Definition of a "Commando"—Bruintjes Hooghte—Alleged tradition—Umphola, or Ruyter—Le Vaillant's fables—Maynier's commando in 1795—Unsatisfactory results—Peace of 1795—State of the Eastern Frontier in 1795.

On the 8th of October, 1846, we embarked at Simon's Bay, on board H. M. steamer "Inflexible;" and though it was blowing at the time a gale of wind right in our teeth, which continued during the whole voyage, on the 11th we were safely at anchor in the roadstead of Port Elizabeth; or, as it is called by courtesy, "Algoa *Bay*."

Before, however, landing the reader through the surf, on a Fingoe's shoulders, on the shores of the Eastern Province, and consigning him to the tender mercy of the Kaffirs at the frontier; I propose, for a short time, to lay an embargo on his patience, by giving a brief account of the latter people; and likewise when and how they came to occupy the country

they now lay claim to as rightful possessors. Such various opinions appear still to exist, and have ever been expressed on this point, as likewise on the justice of our late and former differences with the Kaffirs; that I have endeavoured—by the attentive perusal of most of those documents written on the subject, and after wading through a mass of most opposite and conflicting statements—to arrive if possible at the truth of the matter. The result of my investigations, together with whatever information I was enabled from personal observation to collect on the spot, I shall now, as concisely as possible, recapitulate.

I have already mentioned, that, at the first period of European intercourse with Southern Africa, the Peninsula terminating that vast and little known continent was exclusively occupied by a Nation, who, though bearing some imagined affinity in physical conformation to the ancient Egyptians and modern Chinese, differed so widely from those highly civilized nations in mental qualifications and acquirements, as at first sight almost to preclude the probability of a common derivation. Be this as it may; the origin of the Hottentot Nation is, like that of the Bechuana, or Kaffir race,[1] veiled in the mist of uncertainty and conjecture. It is however known that, shortly after the occupation of the Cape by the Dutch, in the middle of the seventeenth century, the Quaiquæ race inhabited exclusively—as I believe I have elsewhere

[1] The Bechuanas and Kaffirs have by some been considered distinct races; the chief difference appears to be, that the former are possessed of a greater degree of civilization than the Kaffirs. See Arbousset and Daumas, chap. xxii.

observed—the whole Southern Peninsula of Africa; extending, on the western coast, to the Tropic of Capricorn; to the east, considerably beyond the river Kye; and apparently as far north as the present Settlement of Natal.

This line of demarcation across the continent of Africa appeared to have been, at that period, the southern boundary of the widely-extended Bechuana and Kaffir races—races which, though by some considered of Bedouin origin, are more probably—to judge from their physical characteristics—a mixture, composed of Negro and Abyssinian derivation, totally different in language and appearance from all the Hottentot Tribes; though, like the latter, addicted to nomadic pursuits, and living chiefly on the produce of their herds, on the spoils of the chase, and the plunder of war, but to whom the means of obtaining subsistence from the cultivation of the ground were apparently not entirely unknown. With this sole advantage over their Hottentot neighbours, these savage hordes were probably at that period—as they continue to be at the present day, under the several denominations of Matabeles, Mantattees, Zoolahs, Amapondæ, Amakosæ, &c.—sunk into the lowest depths of savage barbarism; and they appear then, as at present, to have been without any observance of the common decencies of life, without a knowledge of God or faith towards man; and scantily clad, like the Hottentots of old, in the spoils of the chase, or in the skins of domestic animals. They were however a far more athletic and warlike race of men, but equally, if not more cruel than the latter, in carrying on the exter-

minating wars waged among themselves and against their neighbours; for their ferocity and bloodthirstiness are, even at the present day, carried to such a pitch, as not unfrequently to lead them to cannibalism itself, with all its attendant horrors.[1]

The latter of the ferocious Tribes above mentioned, (now commonly called the Kaffirs) emigrating, or, probably expelled, in the first instance, by more powerful hordes from the far interior of Africa, seemingly skirted its eastern coast; and, avoiding the Kalagaree, or Great Desart of the Southern Zahara, appear gradually to have encroached on the weaker and less warlike Hottentots, whom they drove before them. As before stated, at the earliest period of European intercourse, the latter were found located along the coast, from Delagoa Bay to the neighbourhood of Natal; shortly after which, the River Kye became apparently the boundary in an easterly direction, between the Quaiquæ and Bechuana nations.

That portion of the last named race with whom—from territorial contiguity—we have had the greatest relations, are the Zoolahs, near Port Natal; the Amapondæ, to the south-west of that Settlement; the Amatombæ, or Tambookies, and the Amakosæ; against the latter of whom we have so lately been at war. As respects other Nations of the interior—such as the Wankeets, the Basutos, the Mantattees, and the Damaras—our intercourse has hitherto been trifling,

[1] See Sir Cornwallis Harris's account of the Bechuana tribes in Moselekatse's country; also the travels of Arbousset and Daumas, to the north-east of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

and, as yet, limited to the visits of a few missionaries, traders, and travellers.

It may not be here out of place to observe, that to the Amatombæ, the Amapondæ, and Amakosæ, the appellation of "Kaffirs" has been exclusively applied by Europeans, ever since the first discoveries along the south-eastern coast of Africa by the Portuguese and the Dutch. This nomenclature is evidently of Arabic derivation, as the term كافر, or "infidel," is indiscriminately bestowed by the Mahometans, on—according to their ideas—all unbelievers; and even Christians are sometimes stigmatized by them with this opprobious epithet.[1] It is easy, therefore, to account for this term being now in common use, and applied to the above mentioned Tribes, as having been derived by Europeans from the Arab dealers in slaves, ivory, and gums, who formerly in great numbers frequented the Mozambique channel and the adjoining coasts.

The first missionary in this part of Africa, the celebrated Van der Kemp, who, towards the close of the last century—equally with his successors in a similar vocation—failed in making any converts among the Kaffirs, is likewise their first historian. From his long residence amidst these people, together with a perfect knowledge of their language and customs, he would appear to have been well qualified for such an office. However, like many of the same calling, who have since trod in his footsteps, so strongly biassed was he in favour of the African race, and so inimical to Europeans, that his relations, together with

1. See General Sir William Napier's "Conquest of Scinde," pp. 120, 221.

others from similar sources, but of a much later date, are in nowise to be depended on. As, until lately, most of the accounts of the native Tribes, and also those of their intercourse with the Colonists, have emanated from the same class of men; the British public have long been kept in the dark, and led to the most erroneous conclusions not only as to remote events, but even as regards much more recent occurrences in this part of the world.

The translation and publication of the old "Records of the Colony," compiled by Lieutenant Moodie, R.N., during the governorship and under the auspices of Sir George Napier whilst Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, have of late thrown considerable light on the subject; and fully exposed the calumnies and misrepresentations of many previous writers—who, pandering to the prevailing feeling of the day, by a pretended show of humanity, and actuated by other selfish and interested views—did their utmost to show up their fellow-countrymen under the most false and revolting colours.

The following account relative to the Kaffirs is derived from most of the works written on the subject; but the "Cape Records" have thereunto supplied a large share of information, which may be considered authentic, as chiefly obtained from official sources; thereby avoiding the influence of those petty contentions, and that party spirit, which for nearly half a century—owing to the gratuitous meddling of a set of men, who, though wholly unauthorized in a political point of view—have, more particularly of late years, kept the whole Colony in a constant state of internal

ferment and agitation ; and of warfare and devastation, from without. In the present narrative, I hope to show (to use the words of the author of this compilation) that " Nothing can be conceived more unfounded and preposterous than the conclusion that any portion of the present colonial territory was obtained by means of encroachment upon the Kaffirs, and that nothing can be more clear, than that the conclusion in question has been arrived at by giving undue weight to opinions destitute of any foundation in fact."

The publication of these " Records" has—to all such as have obtained access to them, and been moreover candid enough to make the admission—in a great measure dispelled the above-mentioned illusion. They prove that, so far from *ever* having encroached on, or molested the Kaffirs, the Dutch Colonists, from the earliest periods, and subsequently the British Settlers, have always been exposed to, and have most severely suffered by, the unprovoked aggressions of these " irreclaimable barbarians," (as they were so justly termed by Sir Benjamin d'Urban.) After despoiling the Hottentots of that territory which, to our knowledge, the latter possessed one hundred and fifty years back, beyond the River Kye, the Kaffirs have, since then — allured by the hope of plunder — gradually crowded on the Colony, and often, without any previous warning or declaration of hostilities, swept in overwhelming numbers across its border; burning, murdering, and plundering, in their devastating course; carrying off immense numbers of colonial cattle ; and only leaving behind them a depopulated and desolate wilderness, covered with heaps of smoking

ruins. Nor is this all: for they never lose sight of the intention—which they invariably carry into effect—of returning to repeat their merciless spoliation on the same ground, whenever a few years of renewed colonial industry may have remedied the havoc so wantonly committed; whilst the same want of protective measures again constantly hold forth a similar temptation for renewed outrages on the part of these insatiable savages.

* * * * *

I have elsewhere observed, that the term of "Kaffirs" has been, by Europeans, exclusively applied to the Amapondæ, the Amatombæ, and the Amakosæ tribes. The following genealogical table of the chiefs of the latter horde, is extracted from a statement made to the government by Colonel Collins, who in 1809 was sent on an official mission to investigate and report on the condition of the Native Tribes, bordering the eastern frontier of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

"GENEALOGY OF THE KAFFIR CHIEFS OF THE AMAKOSA RACE.

"Togow, or Toguh; Gonde, Tzeeo, Palo; Galeka, Hahabee, Langa; Mandankee; Mahota.

"POSTERITY OF GALEKA.—Khowta (father of Hinsa,[1] Boohoo, &c.), Odessa, Walhela, &c.

"POSTERITY OF HAHABEE.—Omlao (father of Gaika),[2] Zlambie, Oonooqua, Yaloosa, Tzatla, &c.

"POSTERITY OF LANGA.—Malouw, or Kyno, Kama, Tolie, Kaza, Galeba, &c.

[1] The father of Kreili, the most direct descendant from Toguh, and the paramount chief of the Amakosæ.

[2] The father of Sandilla, of Macomo, and Tyalie.

"POSTERITY OF MAHOTA.—Jalamba (father of Dlodlo), Olela, Foona, Koba, &c., Kassa, Habana, Gola or Nogola, and most of the other petty independent chiefs, are either sons or grandsons of Mahota. Their people are called Mandankees, from the name of their founder. Hinsa's subjects are for the same reasons called Galikas, and those of Gyka and Zlambie, Hahabees. It is not so easy to account for the name of Langa's people, who are named Barrookas; nor for that of the vassals of Teachoo, called Tindees. The last chief is the son of Banguee, and grandson of Kyka, who was probably a son of Tzeeo; but this I did not hear positively asserted, and I understood that it is a doubtful matter among the Kaffirs. It is possible that he may be of Ghonaqua[1] origin; for a great portion of his people belong to that Nation. His appearance is said to be more that of a Hottentot than that of a Kaffir, and he has Hottentot wives.

"The other chiefs affect to despise Konga, from his not belonging to the chieftain stock. His father, Zaka, was a cattle-holder of Palo, who made him a captain. His people acquired the name of Genookaquas, from some cause which I could not discover.

"From the period of their separation from the Tambookies until the death of Tzeeo, the Kaffirs appear to have resided altogether near the Kyba.[2] I have seen a farmer, now in his ninety-fifth year, who went, with some others, in the year 1738, from Gau-

[1] The Ghonaquas, or Ghonas, are a mixed race between the Hottentots and Kaffirs.—AUTHOR.

[2] Colonel Collins, in his "Notes of a Journey through Kaffraria," states that "the 'T'Ky' of the Colonists is called 'Kyba' by the Kaffirs residing on its banks.—AUTHOR.

ritz River—the most distant part of the Colony then settled—on a shooting excursion, into Kaffirland. Those persons divided into two parties; one of them was under the direction of a man named Heupenaar, who, in consequence of resisting the attempts of the natives to take the iron from his waggons, was murdered with almost all his people. The other party, to which this old man belonged, received no injury from them. There were not then any Kaffirs residing west of the river Kysee; or, according to the most common name among the Colonists, the Kyskamma; and some who accompanied the party on their return, took leave of them at that stream, stating it to be the boundary of their country."[1]

The chief, Tŏgou, or Toguh, here mentioned as the first head of the Amakosæ nations of whom we have any intimation, appears—about a hundred and fifty, or two hundred years ago—to have come with his tribe from a north-easterly direction, and to have then established himself along the banks of the great Kye River. The Amakosæ continued under one chief, until the death of the grandson of Toguh, when they gradually split into the several tribes of which they are now composed; and by degrees extending towards the west, continued to drive the Hottentots before them; until, about the middle of last century, they reached the banks of the Kieskamma. But Gaika

[1] This extract, together with other portions of Colonel Collins's report, is likewise given—for the purpose of proving that aggression and encroachment ever originated on the part of the Kaffirs—in the "Book of the Cape," lately edited by the author of "Five Years in Kaffirland," and to which the reader is referred, for a full elucidation of the subject in question.

(the father of Sandilla) admitted that, at the time of his birth, not a single Kaffir was to be found to the westward of that river.[1]

Now, in 1797, when Barrow was sent by Lord Macartney, the British Governor of the Cape, on a mission to Gaika, that chief was about nineteen years of age. It may therefore be concluded that Kaffir encroachment to the westward of the Kieskamma must have taken place subsequently to the year 1770. So much, however, were the Kaffirs dreaded by the less warlike Hottentots, that as the former advanced the latter invariably fled before them; leaving large tracts of abandoned and fertile land at the mercy and disposal of their ferocious aggressors.

Such was the deserted condition in which the Dutch found the Zuureveldt[2]—known, at present, as the province of Albany—when, in 1752, the Company's marks were erected at the mouth of the Zwartkops River. Shortly after, in their progress eastward, they began —about the year 1770—to settle, by small and detached parties, in this abandoned tract; and in 1775 the Bushman's River was fixed on as the boundary between the district of Swellendam and that of Stellenbosh; which in this ancient division of the Colony then nominally extended to the Great Fish River.

It was at this period that the first serious collisions

[1] See account of evidence given before the House of Commons at p. 24 of "Results of Publication of the Cape Records."

[2] So named by the Dutch, in consequence of the nature of its pasturage, meaning "the sour fields." It received, in 1814, from Sir John Cradock, the appellation of "Albany," in honour of the Duke of York. See Chase's "Cape of Good Hope," p. 32.

took place between the Colonists and their savage neighbours, the Kaffirs; and the latter continuing that system of encroachment they had so successfully carried on against the Hottentots, from the banks of the Kye; (and from how much further eastward is, and probably ever will remain, unknown) at last, by their depredations, awakened the attention of the authorities at the Cape; and the Governor, Van Plattenberg, in 1778, proceeded in person to the Zuureveldt; when the first treaty was concluded between the Dutch and the Kaffirs, fixing, with mutual consent, the boundary of the respective countries, by the course of the Great Fish River.[1]

But treaties with these restless savages were in those days of as little avail as they have ever since proved to be. Favoured by the nature of the country, and by the dense thickets bordering the Great Fish River—which effectually served to screen their movements—this so-called boundary was constantly passed by the Kaffirs, whether on hunting or predatory excursions; or for the purpose of retreat, when, during their internal wars, one tribe happened to be defeated by another. On all these occasions, under cover of the same thick jungle which then befriended them, they, on their return, invariably carried off the colonial cattle; for, whatever the cause or pretext of their visit, these determined robbers never, by any chance, went back empty-handed to their own country.

In 1780, after the death of Mahota, chief of the Mandankees, (who was killed in a contest with T' Slambie's

[1] See Colonel Collins's "Official Report," in Records of the Cape.

tribe) Jalamba his son retired, in the manner before described, to Agter Bruintjes Hoogte, a part of the present district of Somerset, situated to the west of the Great Fish River. Here the Dutch had already formed a Settlement, the inhabitants of which vainly remonstrated against this unauthorized intrusion, reminding Jalamba of the recent treaty of Van Plattenberg. As he turned a deaf ear, however, to all their representations, and refused to evacuate this part of the country, a "commando" was consequently assembled, the result of which was the forcible expulsion of the intruders, with the loss of their chief and many of his followers. Two years subsequently, the son of Jalamba, on making another attempt at encroachment on the Colony, met with the same well-merited fate which had already befallen his father.[1]

As I believe this to be the first mention made of a "commando" against the Kaffirs, it may not be here amiss to say a few words concerning a system which has been so much condemned, so often modified, remodelled, placed under endless restrictions, and at last totally abolished; but the necessity of which, against these lawless banditti, has appeared so evident that, in a proclamation of Sir Henry Pottinger—dated June, 1847—for the purpose of raising the native levies, it was again virtually put in force.[2]

A "commando" was the hasty assemblage, at a given spot, of all the Boers, or farmers, residing in

[1] See "Book of the Cape," chapter iv.

[2] See Enclosure 6 in Sir Henry Pottinger's despatch, p. 26, dated Graham's Town, June 26, 1847. Blue Book for 1848, p. 92.

any part of the country, when, during a period of *supposed* peace, a robbery had taken place, and cattle been driven off by the Kaffirs. The party, whatever number they could muster, all mounted and armed, started, under the command of the Veldt Cornet, the Landdrost, or other leading man of the district; and, getting on the "spoor," or track, of the lost cattle, followed it up — sometimes for consecutive days [1] — across the border, until they traced it to the kraal of the thieves, or to that where it had been by them conveyed.

This object being effected, the chief of the kraal was next applied to, for the restoration of the purloined property. If he refused, and the commando considered themselves sufficiently strong, it was attempted to be recovered by force, when a conflict generally ensued, often attended with loss of life. If victorious, the Boers returned in triumph to their homes, bringing back the recovered cattle in their train; with, possibly, a few additional oxen, for the trouble they had incurred. On the other hand, were the party overmatched, they made the best of their retreat, either to seek for reinforcements, or to draw up a report of the circumstance to the official authorities. To such representation, attention was seldom or never paid; for the old Dutch colonial government had no more the power, than the subsequent English one displayed inclination, to assist the border Colonists in the redress of their manifold wrongs. But, whether successful or not in

[1] Following the "spoor," or tracking the footmarks of man, or beast, is considered quite a science amongst the border Colonists. With the natives, it appears almost a natural instinct, such as guides the hound in pursuit of his quarry.

its results, an expedition of this sort always laid the foundation of ill blood, of repeated bickerings, and an endless series of aggressive and retributive movements on both sides.

Those who have so loudly condemned the commando system, argue that it was often made an excuse for invading Kaffirland, and plundering its inhabitants; and that a greater number of cattle was always brought back than had been actually stolen. Admitting that this sometimes took place, and that the commando system were an evil; still, inefficiently as the border has ever been protected, it was only a necessary one, through which—if excesses have sometimes been committed by men under little control, and exasperated by repeated injuries—it must be allowed that, had not ample provocation been previously given, those excesses would never have taken place; for the Colonists were *never* the first aggressors. On the abolition of the commando system, no check remained on Kaffir depredation; the only mode of putting a stop to which would have been — and ever will be — to draw a definite boundary, and shoot or capture every Kaffir who may be seen across that limit, no matter under what pretext.

* * * * *

The above outline of what is known concerning the history of the Kaffirs, up to the year 1780, will show that, by fixing the boundary of the Great Fish River —as agreed with them, in 1778, by Governor Van Plattenberg — no justly-founded accusation of territorial encroachment, as regards that people, can then be brought against the Dutch government; and that, moreover, almost immediately after the conclusion of

this treaty, it was infringed by the invasion of Jalamba. A full detail of all these transactions will be found, on referring to the before-mentioned authenticated "Records of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope," and to the "Official Report of Colonel Collins's Mission to the Eastern Provinces, in the year 1809."

Before the above documents were made known, the chief argument used by the enemies of civilization and advocates for barbarism, in support of this alleged encroachment on the Kaffirs, was a "tradition," recorded by a missionary, of the latter people having, in the time of the son and grandson of Toguh, purchased from the Hottentots the tract of country between the Sunday and Great Fish Rivers, and likewise a subsequent similar acquisition of the rest of Albany. The author of these assertions mentions, as a proof of European cruelty and treachery, an indiscriminate massacre of the Kaffirs; "who," says he, "some eighty years ago, were invited to a conference by the Dutchmen of Bruintjes Hoogte, who, whilst making them scramble for beads, shot the whole of them."[1]

As to the "tradition," it is beneath notice; for the validity of this purchase, made from a certain self-constituted Hottentot chief, called Umkhola, but by the Dutch named Ruyter, (and even this transaction is affirmed, in Colonel Collins's official report, never to have taken place) will be judged of, when it is stated that the above individual was a malefactor, who, to escape the hands of justice, had fled from the Rogge-

[1] See the missionary Brownlee's account of the Kaffirs, in the Appendix to Thompson's "Travels in Southern Africa."

veldt. Accompanied by a set of fellow brigands and vagabonds, he very coolly established himself and his followers in the country of the Zuureveldt, which had been abandoned by the Hottentots, through fear of the Kaffirs; and still remained unoccupied—the Dutch having, at that period, as yet only formed a Settlement at the Agter Bruintjes Hoogte,[1] in the present district of Somerset.

As respects the "bead massacre," its origin may be traced to Le Vaillant, in whose work it will be found fully detailed, on the authority of a drunken Hottentot, one of his attendants. But, for the degree of dependence to be placed on this production of the "lively and poetic Frenchman," the reader is referred to Barrow; who, during the course of his travels in this part of the world, trod—as has been already stated—closely in his footsteps.

To any one interested in the question as to whether territorial encroachments originated with European or Kaffir aggression, I would strongly recommend (should the reader not have leisure to wade through the "Record" itself) the attentive perusal of a pamphlet written by Lieutenant Donald Moodie, R.N., and entitled "Specimens of the Authentic Records of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, relative to the Aboriginal Tribes;"[2] which will effectually quiet the tenderest

[1] See Colonel Collins's Official Report, p. 10, in Moodie's "Cape Records;" also the "Book of the Cape," chapter v.

[2] Published in 1841, by Richardson, Cornhill, London. Had one-tenth part of the information contained in these papers been in the possession of the Committee of the House of Commons, which in 1836 assembled to inquire into the state of the native

conscience on this subject, by the most convincing proofs.

"Upon these proofs alone—and they are accessible to all—we are warranted in the assertion that nothing can be conceived more unfounded and preposterous than the conclusion, that any portion of the present colonial territory was obtained by means of encroachment upon the Kaffirs; and that nothing can be more clear, than that the conclusion in question has been arrived at, by giving undue weight to opinions destitute of any foundation in fact.

"Yet, upon that unfounded opinion rests not only the warnings issued in 1833 to the British Settlers, by the portion of the colonial press which was subservient to the views of Dr. Philip, to 'set their houses in order,' as 'they could not pretend that they had either purchased the country in which they dwelt, or inherited it from their fathers,' but the grave report of a Parliamentary Committee, and the following extract from an authoritative State paper:—

"'The Kaffirs had an ample justification of the war into which they rushed with such fatal imprudence in the close of the last year (1834). This justification rests on two grounds. First, the Kaffirs had to resent, and endeavoured justly, though impotently, to avenge a series of encroachments upon them, which had terminated in the assumption by Great Britain, first, of the dominion, and then of the exclusive pos-

tribes of South Africa, it could never have been misled by the garbled and dishonest evidence, on which was founded decisions, which have undoubtedly led to so much subsequent expenditure of blood and treasure on the part of the British nation.

session, of all the country between the Great Fish River and the Keiskamma.' "[1]

It was owing to the fabrication of falsehoods and calumnies similar to those above alluded to—strung together with the most jesuitical semblance of truth, candour, and philanthropy—and next artfully palmed on the British public—that so strong a prejudice for a long time existed in England, in favour of the native tribes of Southern Africa, and to the prejudice of the unfortunate Colonists. This feeling at length acquired such an ascendency, as to pervade the Councils of the State, and to influence the opinion of that minister, who openly justified the Kaffir invasion of 1834—annulled the treaty by which the barbarians had been rightfully punished by loss of territory, for so unprovoked an outrage—and finally recalled from his Government the gallant veteran, who had so ably inflicted that well-merited chastisement on our treacherous foes: to which unadvised measures may undoubtedly be traced the origin of the last Kaffir war.[2]

Should any further argument be requisite, to prove *our* rightful possession, (as successors of the Dutch) to the territory as far as the Great Fish River; *that* argument is furnished by the Kaffirs themselves; who, in justifying their invasion of 1819, said: "our fathers drove the Boers out of the Zuureveldt; and we dwelt there, because *we had conquered it.*"[3]

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[1] From Results of the Publication of Cape Records, p. 25.

[2] See, in Parliamentary Correspondence, Sir Benjamin d'Urban's Despatch to Lord Glenelg, dated 9th June, 1836; also, Colonel Smith's Letter of April 16th, 1836.

[3] See Pringle's "Residence in Southern Africa."

But to return from this lengthened digression to the course of our narrative, at the period when in 1780 the first "commando" against the Kaffirs drove back the invaders across the boundary of the Great Fish River. Although the Boers were then successful in repulsing the savages; the latter—ever availing themselves of the shelter of the Fish River Bush—continued to offer such a constant source of annoyance to the Dutch, (who by degrees had scattered themselves over that tract, which, in consequence of the vicinity of the Kaffirs, had been abandoned by the Hottentots, and was then known as the "Zuureveldt") that another large commando was raised in 1793 for the purpose of expelling these intruders, and re-capturing a large amount of cattle which had then recently been stolen from the Colonists.

This expedition ended in a sort of prolonged guerilla warfare against the Kaffirs. The Dutch government at the Cape had no regular troops to spare for the protection of its subjects on the border; but the Boers from all parts of the country were summoned to the place of rendezvous; and a large irregular force, under Mr. Maynier, the Landdrost, or chief-magistrate, of Graaf-Reynet, was speedily assembled. This "commando" crossed the frontier, and entered Kaffirland, more in pursuit of stolen oxen than for the purpose of chastising the thieves; who, in the mean time, doubled on their pursuers, (a manœuvre they have since frequently repeated) got into their rear, and—to compare small things to great—like Hannibal marching on Rome, whilst Scipio was in pursuit of the Numidians; Langa, the chief of the hostile Kaffirs, entered the

now unprotected limits of the Colony, and committed such devastations, that the invaders of Kaffirland were obliged quickly to return, in defence of their homesteads. Mr. Maynier's force shortly after became so disorganized, that a disadvantageous peace was eventually concluded with the enemy, who had no sooner—according to agreement—restored the stolen cattle, than they repented of the act, and instantly re-commenced their robberies and depredations.

This commando of 1793, under the orders of the Landdrost of Graaf-Reynet, may properly be considered as the *first* of the Kaffir wars; and, like all those which have followed, was provoked by Kaffir aggression, Kaffir plunder, and Kaffir devastation. Its results were as unsatisfactory, as have ever proved those of all subsequent operations against these wily savages. Such failures may be chiefly attributable to many of the same causes, which rendered the above campaign so completely abortive. In the first place, there was a want of sufficient force to guard the frontier; which from its nature, no numbers in fact could have protected, or will ever be able to protect against the Kaffirs, so long as a tract of country, covered with dense jungle, be regarded as the boundary of the eastern province.[1] Next, the re-capture of the stolen property, and not the personal chastisement and destruction of the robbers, appears to have ever been the main object of hostile expeditions entering the country of the latter. Thirdly, the want of faith

[1] One good reason (and now that we can do so with justice) for choosing the Kye—whose banks are free from bush—as the boundary of the Colony.

which constantly marked the conduct of government towards those men constituting the levies; who from remote parts of the Colony had, to the great detriment of their own interests and property, been ordered for service to the eastern frontier; and who, when those services were no longer required, often received their *congé* without reward, or any remuneration for the expenses and losses they or their families might have incurred during the time they were in the field.

The consequence of all this mismanagement, at that period, was the unsatisfactory treaty of peace (like many of a later date) *patched* up in 1794, by the Dutch Colonial Government with the Kaffirs, who continued with impunity their usual depredations on the Colony; until at last, the Zuureveldt was in consequence nearly abandoned by the Dutch Settlers; whilst almost the whole of the Boers on the eastern frontier, and of the remote districts adjoining—driven to despair by being thus left to their fate—and naturally concluding that the government which could not protect, would as little be able to punish—next threw off their allegiance; and, in 1795, when the Cape of Good Hope became a British dependency, that part of the country comprising the eastern provinces was handed over to us in a state of the greatest anarchy and confusion.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE KAFFIRS OF THIS CENTURY.

The Cape of Good Hope becomes an English possession—Sir James Craig—General Vandeleur—Expedition of 1799—General Dundas—Peace with the Kaffirs—Algoa Bay—Depredations of Congo and T' Slambie—Despair of the Colonists—Van der Walt—Treaty of Amiens—Klass Stuurman—General Janssens—The Zuureveldt—Colonel Graham—Kaffirs driven from the Zuureveldt—Sir John Cradock's proclamation—Lord Charles Somerset—Treaty with Gaika—Attack of T' Slambie—Colonel Brereton's Commando—Defence of Graham's Town—Colonel Willshire—Ceded territory—Settlers of 1820—Lord Charles Somerset's administration—General Bourke—The 50th ordinance—The Fetcani—Sir Lowry Cole—Death of Gaika—Regency of Macomo and Tyalie—Appointment of Sir Benjamin d'Urban to the Government of the Cape.

"I used the words 'irreclaimable savages' advisedly; they convey my mature opinion, and I am disposed neither to modify nor to retract it."—*From Sir Benjamin d'Urban's Despatch to Lord Glenelg, dated Cape Town, June 9th*, 1836.

The conclusion of the last chapter brought us to the period when, in 1795, the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope became a British possession.

Sir James Craig, the first English Governor, was in 1797 succeeded in that office by Lord Macartney, who, finding the eastern province still exposed to the insults of the Kaffirs, and consequently in the same

disorganized condition as heretofore; his secretary, Mr. Barrow, was despatched thither for the purpose of investigating the state of affairs, and coming, if possible, to some sort of arrangement with the Kaffir chiefs as to their future relations with the Colony. The result of this mission was the re-establishment of some kind of order amongst the frontier Boers; and the promise, on the part of the Kaffirs, to retire within their own boundary beyond the Great Fish River; their usual excuse of the fear of Gaika being obviated by the successful mediation of the British commissioner.

The eastern frontier was found to be in the same disordered state in which it had been left at the conclusion of the peace of 1794; being now in the exclusive occupation of the Kaffirs, who made it the starting point for fresh encroachments; which they had carried to such an extent, that some of their plundering parties had even penetrated as far west as the neighbourhood of Swellendam. In consequence of this state of things, the Zuureveldt had been entirely abandoned by the Colonists, a "circumstance, no doubt, that induced the Kaffirs once more to transgress beyond the fixed boundary. So long as they remained in small numbers in these forsaken parts, and during the confusion in the affairs of Graaf Reynet, little notice had been taken of their encroachments; but, of late, they had poured over in such multitudes, and had made such rapid advances towards the interior and inhabited parts of the district, levying at the same time, contributions of oxen and sheep on those Colonists, whose habitations they approached, in their

passage through the country, that the matter had become seriously alarming."[1]

* * * *

Mr. Barrow took advantage of his mission, to form a treaty of alliance with Gaika; one of the stipulations of which was, that no Kaffir should pass the boundary of the Great Fish River. Notwithstanding this agreement, and the promise above adverted to, to evacuate the Zuureveldt, the Kaffirs immediately afterwards renewed their depredations with redoubled audacity; and Congo, the chief of the Genookaquas, advanced to the Sunday River, where he formed a connexion with the Ghonaquas,[2] and many vagabond Hottentots. Thus strengthened, he not only refused to retire, but treated with the greatest insolence the messengers sent to make that request; and shortly afterwards, the Boers—uncontrolled by the presence of any British troops—as well as unprotected from their savage neighbours, rose into open rebellion against the English Government. This unsatisfactory state of things induced General Dundas (the successor of Lord Macartney as Governor at the Cape) to despatch, in 1799, a considerable force, under General Vandeleur, to the eastern frontier. This force, consisting of some English infantry, part of the 8th Dragoons, and a body of disciplined Hottentots, (since known as the "Cape Corps") soon reduced the Boers to submission.

[1] See Barrow's Travels, vol. i., p. 112.

[2] The Ghonaqua tribe was a mixed race of Kaffirs and Hottentots. The Genookaquas of Congo might, from their appellation, be supposed to have a similar origin; but Colonel Collins, who makes particular mention of this Tribe, states that he could not ascertain the source of its etymology.

Far different, however, was the result of their operations against the Kaffirs. An interview having been obtained with Congo, he of course engaged to retire with his followers beyond the colonial border. But experience had not then taught us duly to appreciate the dependence to be placed on Kaffir faith, and Kaffir promises. General Vandeleur, thrown off his guard, and deeming himself at peace with these savages, was treacherously attacked by them near the Bushman's River; and, however this contest with the Kaffirs may—as in many subsequent similar instances—be attempted to be glossed over, it ended in neither more nor less than our defeat. The British force was obliged to retire on Algoa Bay. In so doing, a detachment of the 81st Regiment, under Lieutenant Chumney, was—including that officer—cut off nearly to a man. General Dundas now came in person to the frontier, and filled our cup of humiliation and disgrace to the very brim, by patching up a "peace, as it was called," with these barbarians, "and then quietly returned to the seat of government at the Cape."[1] Such was the result of *our* first collision with the Kaffirs. It commenced with treachery on their part; it ended with defeat and disgrace on ours.

These events happened half a century ago. During this long period, there is scarcely another portion of the globe which has not been distinguished by British valour and British wisdom; the former ensuring victory to our fleets and armies; the latter securing the—oft hard-earned—advantages obtained by both. Kaffirland

[1] See Colonel Collins's official report in the "Records of the Cape of Good Hope."

alone, with its barbarous hordes, has during that time been nearly the only permanent defacing blot on our bright escutcheon. And if, in the repeated contests provoked by the aggressions of these savages, the British lion has not been always bearded by the Kaffir wolf, the few transient successes of our arms have never terminated in beneficial results; for these wily barbarians—strange to say—have—through our own folly, backed by their never-failing duplicity—often proved "too much" for us, in diplomacy as well as in battle! But to resume the course of my narrative:—

On the conclusion of the "treaty of peace" entered into by General Dundas, a block-house was erected at Algoa Bay,[1] which was garrisoned by a small detachment; but the rest of the troops were all immediately withdrawn from the eastern province.

The Kaffirs only awaited this movement as a signal for their renewed depredations; which were then carried on with the most relentless barbarity, chiefly by the Tribes of Congo, of Olela, and Habana; who were subsequently joined by T' Slambie and his followers. In their career of murder, plunder, and incendiarism, they were backed and ably abetted by hordes of Hottentot bánditti, led on by brigand chiefs, such as the Stuurmans, Boosac, and other adventurers of the same stamp and description.[2]

[1] See Barrow, vol. ii., p. 86.

[2] The losses of the Colonists in the year 1802, are stated as amounting to 858 horses, 4,475 oxen, 35,474 cows and calves, 34,023 sheep, and 2,480 goats. See Lichtenstein's Travels, pp. 302, 382.

Meanwhile, the remonstrances of the farmers were not only disregarded, but they were even threatened with the severest penalties, should they presume to leave their habitations. Such however was the state of insecurity of both life and property, that—in spite of these prohibitions—nearly the whole of the Zuureveldt was again abandoned; and its inhabitants, reduced to despair, rose up in arms against the government, to whose neglect they attributed all their misfortunes; and whose supineness and weak measures had then—as they have so often since done—most undoubtedly encouraged the barbarians in their wanton aggressions.

Mr. Maynier, the Landdrost of Graaf Reynet—whose misrepresentations had greatly influenced the conduct of the British Government in all their recent transactions, and who still advocated conciliatory measures towards the Kaffirs—was at first placed in charge of a "commando" against the marauders. But he was shortly superseded by a gallant burgher, of the name of Van der Walt, who seems to have been well qualified for the trust. This commando consisted of such of the farmers as had not joined the disaffected; and Van der Walt advanced against the united Kaffirs and Hottentots, with such promptitude and energy, that he inspired confidence in his own people, and struck their opponents with terror. The Kaffir chiefs held a council of war, and were on the point of retiring, when the commandant was suddenly called away to the neighbourhood of the Camtoos River, where the Hottentots were causing great disturbances; in quelling which, he met with his death from a musket ball, whilst pene-

trating a dense thicket; and the Colony thus lost the valuable services of a most energetic and able man.[1]

The death of Van der Walt appears to have been the signal for the dispersion of the commando assembled under his orders; and the enemy, meeting with little opposition, soon scoured the country with impunity in every direction. One party, under David Stuurman, the Hottentot leader, penetrated as far as Plattenberg Bay, in the district of George; here they fell in with a large party of farmers with their families, who, abandoning these scenes of rapine and murder, were proceeding towards the Cape. These poor people were mercilessly put to death, but their wives and children, "contrary," says Colonel Collins, "to their practice on some other occasions," were sent away uninjured.

Such was the state of the Colony, when, by the Treaty of Amiens, it was restored, in 1803, to the Dutch. But, ere it was taken possession of by them, General Dundas deemed it necessary to conclude a second humiliating treaty with the Kaffirs. "This was done upon no other condition than that each party should retain possession of the cattle that had fallen into their respective hands;" which of course was tantamount to purchasing a peace of these barbarians with the spoils of the Colony; and so disgraceful an arrangement, entered into by a British official, was afterwards confirmed by the Batavian Government.

Most truly has it been observed: "that most of our relations with the Kaffirs have been, from first to last, a series of military and political blunders." A strange

[1] See Colonel Collins's official report, 1809.

fatality; a frequently injudicious choice of men and measures—want of success to our arms; followed by humiliating treaties; have usually attended our warlike and political transactions with these barbarians; who, from the times of Vandeleur and Dundas, to those of Maitland and Pottinger, have—with but few exceptions—ever baffled our generals, outwitted our statesmen; in short—as has been remarked in a recent work on the Cape [1]—generally defeated us both in the field and the Cabinet!

May the spell at last be broken! May the gallant soldier now in command at the Cape of Good Hope be left to deal with these savages according to the dictates of his own judgment and experience! For if unshackled by those bonds imposed on his predecessors—the result of misrepresentation, of intrigue, and calumny—most assuredly will he dissipate that ominous fatality, restore the tarnished lustre of the British arms, and amply repair the errors of former rulers, or rather of those instructions under which they were obliged to act.[2]

* * * * *

On the evacuation of the Cape of Good Hope by the English, General Janssens was appointed by Holland to the chief command of that Colony. As soon as the state of affairs would admit of his absence from the seat of government, he proceeded to the eastern frontier; and, not content with confirming the ill-advised treaty concluded with the Kaffirs by General

[1] Vide "The Book of the Cape," p. 23.

[2] The above was written ere intelligence of the submission of the Kaffir chiefs to Sir Harry Smith had reached England.

Dundas, he, with most unaccountable fatuity, not only conferred marks of approbation on the Hottentot brigand, Klaas Stuurman—who, by his alliance and co-operation with the Kaffirs, had been the cause of so much mischief to the Colony—but, in a manner, acknowledged his independence. General Janssens, moreover, made the rebel a grant of land on the little Camtoos River, near the spot where, only a year before, the gallant Van der Walt had been killed by the followers of this ruffian; the recital of whose atrocities would—to use the words of Colonel Collins—"render these sheets too voluminous and too disgusting."

Klaas Stuurman was not, however, long destined to enjoy the fruits of his crimes, and of the weakness of the Dutch government; for he was shortly after killed by his brother David; who then became the nucleus around which assembled every vagabond from the western parts of the Colony.

David Stuurman now increased his force by the addition of Kaffirs and Ghonaquas, and then formed an alliance with Congo; whom he was about to join for the purpose of invading and pillaging the interior districts; when, in the course of these nefarious transactions, he was arrested, sent to the Cape, and finally banished to Robben Island; whence he effected his escape—was re-captured, and eventually transported to Botany Bay.

Such was the man who, under the high-sounding title of "Last of the Hottentot Chiefs," is represented as an object of sympathy and commiseration, by one of that lengthened string of mendacious writers, whose calumnies, falsehoods, and fictions, have so long

misled the British public, and encouraged in a certain class that mistaken spirit of mock-humanity; the cause of so much subsequent waste of blood and treasure.

To revert to the visit of General Janssens to the eastern frontier. After having invested Klaas Stuurman with the bâton of office, and established him, as has been seen, on the Camtoos River; he next obtained an interview at the Sunday River, with T' Slambie, Congo, Habana, and other chiefs of those Kaffir tribes, who had now, to all appearance, permanently located themselves in the Zuureveldt. The General clearly pointed out the infringement of that treaty, which had fixed the great Fish River as the boundary of the two countries; and after exhorting the Kaffirs to retire in peace beyond the colonial limits, he threatened, in the event of non-compliance, to have recourse to compulsory measures. The fear of Gaika was, as usual, urged as an excuse; but this difficulty was removed in a subsequent conference with that chief, who promised to offer them no further molestation; and the invaders then agreed to return to their own territories.

The Zuureveldt at this period, in consequence of Kaffir encroachments, had been, as before remarked, entirely abandoned by its former colonial inhabitants; who, on the strength of the recent arrangements, were now, under penalty of forfeiture, enjoined to repair to their respective locations; but the Kaffirs were there before them! In fact, T' Slambie had never quitted the province, and the Dutch government, embarrassed by a fresh war with England, possessed not the power of carrying into execution their threats of forcible expulsion.

Such a succession of robberies and murders were now

constantly committed, that those Colonists who had returned to their dwellings were again obliged to seek for safety in flight; and in 1806—when the Cape of Good Hope once more became an English possession—the eastern province was apparently re-occupied by the tribes of T' Slambie, Congo, and other Kaffir chiefs; who seem at that period to have established themselves in undisputed possession throughout the Zuureveldt.

In 1811, Sir John Cradock—having a considerable force at command, and wearied by their continued and repeated depredations—determined on making a grand effort to eradicate these barbarians from the Colony. Colonel Graham was accordingly placed at the head of some regular troops; and, aided by a large number of burghers, succeeded, during the course of the following year, in driving the Kaffirs beyond the established boundary of the great Fish River.

In the performance of this duty, Colonel Graham displayed a stern decision and firmness of purpose, which—by the Exeter Hall party—have often been falsely and unjustly stigmatized with inhumanity and cruelty. Nay, persons bearing the name of Englishmen have—in their injudicious advocacy of the Kaffirs—been so completely lost to all sense of decency and shame, as even to palliate a most treacherous massacre[1] of the Colonists which took place in the course of this war; and so regardless of truth, as to implicate not only the Settlers, but also British soldiers in the

[1] That of the Landdrost, Stockenstrom; who, with his followers, was murdered by the Kaffirs, after having been invited by them to a friendly conference.—See the missionary Brownlee's account of this transaction, in appendix to Thompson's work on Southern Africa.

"indiscriminate slaughter of *women* as well as men, whenever found, and even though they offered no resistance."[1]

This base calumny—as regards the British soldier—is beneath notice; and Sir John Cradock's proclamation, issued in 1813, would appear fully to justify the Colonists from so foul an imputation; for, in this document, the governor of the Cape of Good Hope declares "his heart-felt satisfaction that he had not discovered amongst the inhabitants *any one instance of cruelty, oppression, or prevailing misconduct.*"

The severe lesson they had lately received from Colonel Graham was however soon lost upon these "irreclaimable barbarians." Under the administration of Lord Charles Somerset, who succeeded Sir John Cradock in the government of the Cape, the Kaffirs again proved so troublesome, as to require his lordship's presence at the frontier; whither he repaired in 1817, and had an interview with Gaika; with whom a treaty of alliance was formed, on the express condition that all the cattle and horses stolen from the Colony should be immediately restored.

Shortly after this event, Gaika, being attacked by his uncle, and old enemy, T' Slambie, was defeated with great slaughter at the Debe Flats, when the latter immediately renewed his depredations on the Colony.[2] This irruption, coupled with Gaika's application for assistance from the British—an expectation

[1] See Pringle's "South African Sketches," p. 95, orig. edit.

[2] See Dr. Philip's "Researches in Southern Africa," vol. i., p. 257, of which Mr. Pringle gives a version of his own, in order to justify the Kaffir invasion of 1819.—See Pringle's "South African Sketches," p. 96.

founded on our late treaty with him—caused the hostile expedition, which in 1818 was sent into Kaffirland under Colonel Brereton. The result of this measure was the capture of 23,000 head of cattle; 9,000 of which were given to Gaika, and the rest distributed amongst the frontier Colonists, as a slight compensation for recent and former unpunished robberies, committed on them by the Kaffirs, chiefly belonging to T' Slambie's tribe. The commando of 1818 has as usual—by the "religious party"—been stigmatized as a wanton act of aggression, fully justifying the great Kaffir invasion of 1819; whereas, if the circumstances which led to Colonel Brereton's expedition be duly considered, it can only be regarded in the light of a pure act of retributive justice; equally called for by the repeated and unceasing aggressions of T' Slambie, Congo—and other tribes in alliance with them—as well as in consequence of the appeal made to us by Gaika, with whom we had so lately contracted a friendly alliance.

"That the policy of the Colonial government at this period was of a mild and benevolent character can be proved from a variety of sources," which, if referred to, will fully tend to show that such allegations against the British government, the Colony, and Colonists in general, are false and groundless.

The above opinion, repeated nearly verbatim in a very recent work[1] on the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, as applicable to our then existing relations with

[1] Bunbury's "Journal of a Residence at the Cape of Good Hope." See Godlonton's work, and Appendix at the end of this volume.

the Kaffirs under Lord Macartney's government, is equally relevant to all our subsequent transactions with that people. Time and dearly-bought experience, however, but too clearly prove that our future policy in dealing with this turbulent and dishonest race ought to be—to use the words of the author above quoted—"inflexible, prompt, and decisive;" for, according to Kaffir interpretation, "forbearance is weakness, indecision a want of courage, and liberality a want of understanding."

But, to resume my narrative. Scarcely had the troops composing Colonel Brereton's expedition been withdrawn, than the united tribes of T' Slambie, Congo, and Habana, with many of Hintza's people, poured anew into the Colony in such overwhelming force, that the smaller military posts were abandoned; two detachments of the 72nd, under the command of Captain Gethin and Lieutenant Hunt, were cut off; the missionary stations were burned; and the whole eastern province was overrun and devastated as far as Algoa Bay.

The Kaffirs, on this occasion, were nominally commanded by Dushani, the son of T' Slambie; but in reality led on by an impostor of the name of Makanna, who, assuming pretensions to supernatural knowledge and power, together with the character of a prophet, promised shortly to drive the English into the sea.

At the head of ten thousand Kaffirs, Makanna next made a desperate attack upon Graham's Town, which was resolutely defended by Colonel Willshire,[1] with

[1] Now Major-General Sir Thomas Willshire, who so greatly distinguished himself at Khelat.

about two hundred and fifty British troops and a few Hottentots. Colonel Willshire repulsed the assailants with considerable slaughter, and followed them into their own country. Nor were any proposals of peace listened to, before the surrender of Makanna; and until the abandonment by the Kaffirs of the territory between the Keiskamma and Great Fish Rivers, appeared to have ensured for the Colony some degree of future peace and tranquillity. This "ceded" territory was, by the terms of the treaty, to be occupied neither by Colonists nor Kaffirs, but exclusively appropriated for such military posts as we might there choose to establish; thus forming an intervening belt between the industry of civilization and the plundering habits of the most matchless barbarism; and not the least doubt can be entertained of the perfect justice of such a precautionary measure, and of what may be considered as a rightful acquisition of territory, in a purely defensive warfare.

Owing to the constant recurrence of outrages and depredations on the part of the Kaffirs, the whole eastern frontier, and more particularly the Zuureveldt (now known as the province of Albany), was, at this period, again nearly denuded of colonial inhabitants; and, notwithstanding repeated assurances of protection for the future, backed by the additional safeguard of the "Ceded" or "Neutral Territory" intervening between them and their plunderers, no persuasions could induce the Boers again to occupy their oft-abandoned locations.

To prevent therefore this fine extent of country from becoming a desert, as well as to provide a population, which, by constituting its defence, would like-

wise prove a shield to the rest of the Colony; the scheme of sending out large numbers of British Emigrants was now suggested, and shortly afterwards carried into effect, under the administration of Sir Rufane Donkin; who, during the temporary absence of Lord Charles Somerset, had been entrusted with the government of the Cape.

Not only was this emigration sanctioned and countenanced by the authorities at home, but Parliament granted the sum of £50,000 to carry it into execution; and in the course of the year 1820 nearly four thousand Settlers were landed at Algoa Bay. "From the tenour of the Government circulars, it was generally supposed by the Emigrants that they were to be settled around the shores of the Bay; but, on their arrival, to their great surprise and disappointment, they learned that their ultimate location was to be above one hundred miles in the interior; a discovery more particularly unpalatable when they found that their transport thither was to be effected at their own cost."[1]

It is, therefore, evident that the emigration of 1820 was intended as a future safeguard against Kaffir invasion; and those who found themselves thus thrust unawares, and contrary to their expectation, into the breach, surely had a right to claim every protection and encouragement from the Government which had placed them in such a perilous position.[2] Far dif-

[1] From Chase's "Cape of Good Hope," p. 81. See also "The State of the Cape of Good Hope" (1822), by a Civil Servant.

[2] The Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the 12th of July, 1819, made the speech depicting this land of promise, which led

ferent, however, was the case; and every expedient which an ill-judged policy could devise appeared to be brought into play, to ruin the infant Settlement, and blast the hopes of the Colonists. The great mistake was made at first starting, of considering the territory of Albany as adapted to arable purposes. Under this erroneous impression, small lots of ground were assigned to the Settlers, who lost much capital, time, and labour, in endeavouring to raise corn, on ground only fit for rearing sheep and cattle. The frontier was next denuded of troops; and consequently of protection against the Kaffirs, who readily availed themselves of this circumstance to renew their depredations; whilst Government—most unaccountably swayed by false representations — issued the most absurd decrees, prohibiting all sort of retaliation on the part of the Colonists, as well as any attempts to retake by force the property of which they were constantly deprived by those incorrigible banditti; in short, whilst withdrawing military protection, virtually abolishing its only substitute—the "Commando system."

Meanwhile, the so-called "religious" party was, at home, so completely in the ascendant, that, backed by the representations of a set of traitorous coadjutors in the Colony, they succeeded in causing a deaf ear to be turned by the authorities to all the just

to the emigration of 1820, when Mr. Hume went so far as to say, that, "If men, under certain circumstances (meaning able-bodied paupers), were unwilling to emigrate, it might even be advisable to transport them without their consent." See "State of the Cape of Good Hope, in 1822," by a civil servant.

complaints of the Settlers. And the latter period of Lord Charles Somerset's administration was marked by the most puerile system of policy and concession; together with the most ridiculous and contradictory enactments as regarded the nature of colonial relations with our barbarous neighbours. All these evils emanated from those calumnies and misrepresentations, so unaccountably listened to and believed at home, and which had so completely blinded the authorities as to the real nature of our existing relations with the Native Tribes.[1]

Nor was the least of the many errors committed at this period—that of allowing some of Gaika's Kaffirs, under his sons, Macomo and Tyalie, to occupy—although on sufferance—part of that ceded territory wrested—as I have already shown—from the Kaffirs as a punishment for the depredations they had committed on the Colony in 1819, and which had subsequently been proclaimed by Sir Rufane Donkin as a portion of our territories; wisely appropriated for the establishment of military posts, and as an intervening barrier, to prevent the otherwise unavoidable collision between the colonial population and their pilfering neighbours.

At the time of the final departure of Lord Charles Somerset, the pernicious system above alluded to continued in full force. He was, in 1829, succeeded in the government of the Cape of Good Hope by General Bourke, whose special instructions appear to have been still to act towards the Kaffirs on the "soothing"

[1] See Godlonton's "Account of the Kaffir Irruption of 1834-5;" also "Chase's Cape of Good Hope," pp. 84, 85, &c.

system; which he the more readily fell into, from being himself of a particularly mild and forbearing disposition.

Amongst other "conciliatory" measures now in vogue, was that most baneful one of making periodical presents to the chiefs, on the restoration by them of any plundered colonial property. This species of tribute, instead of acting as a prevention to cattle-lifting, proved, on the contrary, a most effectual encouragement to the same; as the chief, in order to be entitled to the promised reward, was naturally prone to encourage the commission of the theft.

The prohibition on trade and intercourse between the Colonists and Kaffirs was now abrogated;[1] but whilst our traders were allowed to enter Kaffirland, for the purpose of traffic with the natives, the latter had free access to the Colony; whither they flocked in numbers, under the plea of offering their services to the farmers, whom they however generally in the end robbed with impunity, under the safeguard of a late decree, prohibiting the latter from making use of fire-arms, or other deadly weapons, in the recovery of stolen cattle.

Whilst the Kaffirs, so injudiciously admitted into the Colony, were thus protected from the consequences of their misconduct, the enactments referring to our traders in Kaffirland, instead of being framed for *their* protection, were exclusively in favour of the savages!

Now that I am on this subject, I cannot refrain from quoting — in reference thereto — the author of the "Kaffir Irruption of 1834-5."

[1] By an unrepealed old Dutch ordinance, the penalty incurred by the infringement of this prohibition was no less than death.

"To such an absurd excess was the system of forbearance carried at this period, that it became a matter of doubt whether the owner of property could be legally justified in recovering it by force from the hands of the robber. Preposterous as this may appear, yet the question to this effect was actually proposed by Government to the Attorney-general of the Colony; and the reply of that officer will show the length to which principles that are, in themselves, humane and benevolent, may be carried, when persons lose sight of common sense for refined and new fangled utopian notions. To those who know the Kaffir, and his method of conducting his plundering expeditions, the reply in question will appear most extravagantly ridiculous. The following extract will sufficiently prove this. The learned attorney commences with becoming gravity, by premising that 'no general rule can be laid down applicable to all cases;' but that, 'when any theft, or other serious crime, has been committed by these savages; or, when they are seen with arms in any considerable numbers, they may be pursued with hue and cry. The best way,' he continues, 'of proceeding in such cases is, to give immediate information to the nearest field-cornet, whose duty it is then to raise all the neighbouring inhabitants; or, at least, such a number of them as, from the information given to him, he may deem sufficient for the purpose of apprehending them without bloodshed.

"'Should the parties succeed in overtaking the marauders, the person commanding the party should adopt such measures, and give such directions as are

best calculated for their apprehension, without loss of life on either side. In no case should fire-arms, or other deadly weapons, be used, until all other measures have proved abortive.' "

Had the learned Attorney-general who gave utterance to this humane decree ever been in hot pursuit of a band of armed Kaffirs, walking off with that part of his property, consisting of what is to them the greatest and most desirable of all riches, and in defence of which they are ever ready to risk their own lives, or to sacrifice the lives of those who may endeavour to wrest from them their ill-gotten prey; had the same learned personage ever found himself in such a predicament, how far would he have been likely to put in practice those theories he so sagely drew out upon paper?

At the very period when these pacific enactments were issued by an individual whose person and property were in perfect safety, and six or seven hundred miles from the scene of robbery and plunder, the Kaffirs were perpetrating the most cruel murders; and one within six miles of Graham's Town; whilst a set of banditti, composed of Bushmen, Hottentots, and runaway slaves, established themselves amongst the hills at the head of the Mancazana; from whence they, with impunity, carried on the most extensive depredations—for no one would now undergo the responsibility of putting a stop to these robberies—and a farmer had actually been incarcerated on the charge of shooting one of the brigands, while in defence of his own property!

Not content with adopting such weak and mistaken measures towards the Kaffirs, the course of folly was

now carried still farther, by the promulgation of that preposterous decree—notorious in colonial annals, as the "50th ordinance"—which, by placing the Hottentots of the Colony on a footing with the white population, and removing every wholesome restriction on this idle and vagabond race, became the source of irremediable evil results, confusion, and discontent.

* * * * *

Our "faithful friends and allies," the Kaffirs, strenuously called upon us at this period (1828) for assistance, in a dilemma which threatened them with instantaneous and universal destruction. I allude to the appeal which they then made to the British Government, for protection against the Fetcani; a numerous and ferocious horde of savages; who, themselves driven from the far north-east by the Zoolahs, had—after devastating and entirely depopulating the banks of the Caledon—crossed the Stormberg Mountains, under their bloodthirsty chieftain, Matiwana, and threatened to make a clean sweep of every thing in Kaffirland.

The application thus made was readily acceded to, as much on the score of policy as on that of humanity. Colonel Somerset and Major Dundas were despatched to the assistance of the Kaffirs, defeated the Fetcani, and entirely cleared Kaffirland of those devastating hordes.

This humane intervention, and its successful results, have nevertheless been eagerly seized upon, and distorted into a subject of animadversion and abuse, by that class of writers so frequently before alluded to; who, in their usual strain, did not scruple to stigmatize it as an act of wanton cruelty, and unheard-of

barbarity, on our part;[1] — severely censuring and commenting on the great slaughter which took place on the occasion of the Fetcani defeat. This chiefly occurred, however, *after* the latter had broken and fled before our troops, and was then perpetrated by the very Kaffirs, whom these gentlemen on every occasion so strenuously support; and who, although standing well aloof during the combat—which they left exclusively to their allies—no sooner witnessed the flight of the enemy, than they commenced an indiscriminate system of butchery, violence, and plunder, to which it was found impossible to put a stop. And, such was the sense of gratitude evinced by them towards their deliverers, that in the course of the same year (as proved by the official returns) they robbed the Colony of upwards of six thousand head of cattle, besides sheep and horses!

* * * * *

The trimming and conciliatory system towards the Kaffirs having thus been so long tried, with such unsuccessful results, a new leaf was turned—or rather only partly turned over—on the appointment, in 1828, of Sir Lowry Cole to the government of the Cape. He annulled that ordinance indiscriminately admitting Kaffirs into the Colony, on pretence of seeking service; restored the commandos to their full power of action; authorized such of the Colonists as might be plundered of their cattle, and who could trace it to a Kaffir kraal, to retake it—if necessary—by force; caused to be hanged, in the presence of the chief and of his

[1] See, on this subject, the works of Bannister, Kay, and Pringle.

whole tribe, a Kaffir who had been convicted of robbery and murder within the colonial boundary; and, finally, expelled Macomo from his location at the Kat River, in the "Ceded Territory," as a punishment for his turbulent conduct, robberies, and encroachments on the Colony.

On the death of Gaika, which took place in 1829, the government of that portion of the Hahabee Kaffirs (now generally known as the Gaikas,) devolved on his infant son, Sandilla; who, in right of his mother, Sutu, the "great wife" of Gaïka, was entitled—according to Kaffir usage—to the chieftainship; in preference to his elder half-brothers, Macomo and Tyalie, who were, during Sandilla's minority, entrusted with the regency, and then openly assumed so hostile an appearance towards the Colony, as to require the Governor's presence on the eastern frontier.

Sir Lowry Cole succeeded in allaying for a while the long boding storm; which, however, shortly after his resignation, (in 1833) burst forth with such unrestrained fury, as to call into immediate action all the energies and skill of his successor, Sir Benjamin d'Urban.

The foregoing outline of our transactions with the Kaffirs has brought us to the eve of their devastating irruption of 1834; and although the limits of this work do not admit of a relation of the many immediate causes which gave rise to that disastrous event, and to the consequent war of 1835; of that system of traitorous interference and tampering, by a set of mischievous and meddling individuals; which so excited these barbarians, that —thus urged to avenge imaginary wrongs—they, with-

out warning or provocation, precipitated themselves, in overwhelming masses, on this ill-fated colony; — of the shameful intrigues and misrepresentations which (after their well-merited chastisement, and forfeiture of territory to the British crown) set aside the just and advantageous treaty of Sir Benjamin d'Urban; removed that gallant veteran from his command; and, by establishing a most mistaken system of policy, eventually led to the last ruinous war of 1846-7;— though want of space permits me not to enter into all these details, they are fully given in the undermentioned writings,[1] to which the reader is referred, for ample information on the subject.

In the following chapters, I shall confine myself to a recital of the chief events which marked the Kaffir war of 1835.

[1] See "Authentic Records of the Cape," compiled by Donald Moodie, Esq.; "Account of the Kaffir Irruption of 1834-5," by the Editor of the "Graham's Town Journal," (Godlonton) with the Introductory Remarks to the same; also Chase's "Cape of Good Hope;" and Sir James Alexander's interesting work on South Africa: but, above all, the reader is referred to Sir Benjamin d'Urban's admirable letter of justification to Lord Glenelg, together with Colonel, now Sir Harry Smith's communication to the former, both in the "Blue Book," containing "Parliamentary Correspondence" for 1836-7, relative to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. The letters above alluded to are in themselves a history of the Kaffir war of 1835, together with that of its origin and causes; clearly exposing at the same time the fallacious system then pursued with respect to the Cape of Good Hope, together with the intrigues and misrepresentations which led to such misgovernment. In short, these documents should be perused by every one interested in the affairs of this important Colony—doubly important at a moment when so likely to become the grand focus of emigration from the mother country.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE KAFFIR WAR OF 1834-5—FROM THE INVASION OF THE COLONY TO HINTZA'S DEATH.

The Kaffir War of 1834-5—Sudden invasion of the Kaffirs—Colonel Smith's activity—Sir Benjamin d'Urban repairs to the Frontier—Hintza—Mission to Faku—Kaffirs surprised by Colonel Smith—Proclamation of Sir B. d'Urban—Entry into Hintza's country—Declaration of War against that chief—Colonel Smith's movements—Submission of Hintza—Terms of Peace—He remains as a hostage—Massacre of the Fingoes—Admonitory address of Sir B. d'Urban—Colonel Smith's expedition to the Bashee—Death of Hintza.

One of the first events which marked the accession of Sir Benjamin D'Urban to the Government of the Cape of Good Hope, was the disallowance, by the Home authorities, (again completely swayed by the misrepresentations of the "philanthropic," or "religious" party) of that ordinance promulgated by Sir Lowry Cole, restoring to its full vigour the commando system, as the only effectual means of restraining the ever-recurring depredations of the Kaffirs.

The pernicious effects of this ill-advised measure were immediately evident. The Kaffirs naturally looked with contempt on the wavering and childish policy, from which emanated such a succession of inconsistent and contradictory orders relating to them-

selves; and, with the genuine feeling of savages—instead of giving us credit for being actuated by motives of humanity—they naturally attributed this constant vacillation of measures on our part as the result of weakness, imbecility, and fear. In consequence of such mistaken forbearance being displayed towards them, they rapidly proceeded from one excess to another; till at last, after murdering, without the least provocation, all the British traders they could lay hands on in Kaffirland, and likewise destroying the Missionary stations, they next, towards the end of 1834—without further preliminary, or more formal declaration of war—followed up these barbarous measures by a sudden, unexpected, and general invasion of the Colony.

To those vacillating measures, and mistaken forbearance towards the Kaffirs—the consequence of giving ear to the most glaring misrepresentations—added to the intrigues and machinations of certain parties in the Colony, may therefore—it is generally admitted—be entirely attributed the invasion of 1834.[1] This weakness of purpose had of late, owing to instructions from home, been manifested in every act of the Colonial government; but in none more conspicuously than in having, some time previously, allowed Macomo to occupy a part of the neutral territory, from whence, on two successive previous occasions, his misconduct had obliged him to be expelled; an expulsion which was considered such a cause of annoyance and resentment, that a spirit of revenge ever after rankled in the heart of this treacherous and bloodthirsty savage.

The irruption of 1834 may likewise, in a great

[1] See Appendix at the end of this volume.

measure, "be traced to the remissness of the Government, in allowing a fatal diminution of the military force on the border; in failing to watch and check the first symptoms of aggression on Colonial subjects in Kaffirland, and on Colonial property within the border; and also in neglecting to curb certain intriguing demagogues and mischievous partisans in the Colony, who, under the mask of philanthropy, tampered with the ignorant natives, on the subject of their imaginary wrongs, and thus precipitated them upon their own countrymen, the unoffending Settlers."[1]

"Never," remarks Sir James Alexander, "never was Province less prepared for resisting invasion, than the eastern frontier of the Cape of Good Hope. Before the arrival of the present Governor in the Colony, the mounted Rifle Corps had been reduced to two hundred men; which, with six companies (about four hundred bayonets) of a single European regiment, the 75th—a cleaner or smarter regiment I may observe, by the way, I have never seen—were all the troops at hand to defend the Colonial border; without any militia, and without a reinforcement of regulars, on an emergency, nearer than Cape Town, distant seven hundred miles.[2] Fort Willshire, a square of barracks, store-houses, and stables, with four small bastions at the angles, and a couple of guns, built in a hole, and completely overlooked by the wooded hills on the banks of the Keiskamma, had been abandoned by the troops, and was taken possession of, and in part burnt,

[1] Chase's "Cape of Good Hope," pp. 84, 85.

[2] This force was afterwards augmented by the addition of the 72nd and 98th regiments.

by the enemy, in December, 1834. The open post at Kaffir Drift, and the "wattle and daub" post at Kat River, had shared the same fate. Soldiers and Settlers had rolled back on Graham's Town: the country was full of Kaffirs; and they pillaged, burned, and murdered, for some time, without interruption. The smoke of farmhouses and crops rose up everywhere; and everywhere the Kaffirs, on foot and on horseback, laden with plunder, drove rapidly off the unprotected flocks and herds."

"And yet," says the Editor of the "Graham's Town Journal," "the invading Kaffirs, instead of condemnation, were *justified*—instead of punishment, received *reward* for their murderous and ruinous outrage!"[1]

The charge of remissness in guarding against external foes is here most assuredly made good; whilst the foregoing allusion to very questionable proceedings from within, refers to transactions which had recently taken place at the missionary establishment at the Kat River Settlement; and which were subsequently brought to light by Colonel, now Sir Harry Smith. Such is a general outline of the immediate causes of the unprovoked Kaffir aggression of 1834; and their full details may be found in the "Blue Book" of Parliamentary Correspondence, relative to the affairs of the Cape of Good Hope at this period, under the head of Sir Benjamin d'Urban's admirable letter of justification to Lord Glenelg; a document—as before observed—in itself, a history of the Kaffir war of 1834-5, with all

[1] See "Case of the Colonists," p. 30, by the Editor of the "Graham's Town Journal."

its concomitant causes; and in which—after giving the most unanswerable reasons for every measure of his administration—Sir Benjamin most clearly points out at whose door all the blame must rest, for those calamities, which befell the Colony during the latter period of his administration.[1]

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On the 21st of December, 1834, the Gaika and T'Slambie tribes, under the direction of Macomo, without—as before remarked—any previous intimation of hostilities, and during a period of profound peace, simultaneously crossed the whole line of Colonial border, from the Winterberg Mountains to the sea; and such was the rapidity and unexpected nature of this invasion, that no immediate precautions could possibly be taken to arrest the sudden onslaught.

In less than a week, a tract of Colonial territory, comprising upwards of eight thousand square miles, was clearly swept by the invaders, who carried off innumerable herds and flocks, destroyed property to an immense amount, burned the houses, and indiscriminately butchered their inhabitants.

"By this unforeseen and unmerited calamity, the labours of fourteen years' toil, patience, and frugality, within that number of days, were almost annihilated; and property to the value of £300,000, at the lowest computation, was swept off or destroyed, besides the sacrifice of fifty valuable lives. This stroke has been the more severely felt, because the chief sufferers, the

[1] The reader is also referred to Colonel, now Sir Harry Smith's letter on this subject, to be found in the same volume of Parliamentary papers. See Appendix at the end of this volume.

British Settlers, were cruelly and falsely taunted as the cause of their own misfortunes; and not only have compensation and redress been denied them, but the public inquiry (by an appeal to their sovereign and Parliament into their conduct on the spot, and in the face of open day), which they courageously demanded, was most ungenerously and most unjustly refused them."[1]

Meanwhile, Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, who then commanded on the frontier, immediately concentrated his small force at Graham's Town. Intimation of what had occurred was without loss of time forwarded to the Cape; and Colonel, now Sir Harry Smith, despatched from thence by Sir Benjamin d'Urban, arrived at Graham's Town in the early part of January, 1835; having performed the journey on horseback in the incredibly short space of six days!

The Governor himself speedily followed, bringing all the accession of force he could possibly command; and the Kaffirs having, by the end of January, pretty well cleared the whole eastern province of property of every description, now sought refuge in the dense mazes of the Fish River Bush, where a desultory warfare took place between them and our troops.

Meanwhile, the conduct of Hintza, the paramount Chief of the Amakosæ Kaffirs, had, during the late transactions, been of such an equivocal cast, that Sir Benjamin d'Urban—after sending a deputation to his kraal for the purpose of ascertaining his definite intentions—found abundant reasons for the suspicions he had entertained. And therefore—although no imme-

[1] See "Chase's Cape of Good Hope," p. 85.

diate declaration of war then took place—it was resolved to call him to an account at a subsequent period; for it clearly appeared that he had not only harboured large numbers of plundered Colonial cattle, but had borne an active participation in the murders so wantonly committed on the British traders.

During the ensuing operations, the army was distributed into four divisions, Colonel Smith being appointed Chief of the Staff. The 1st division (and head-quarters of the Commander-in-Chief) was placed under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Peddie. The 2nd, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, K. H. The 3rd, by Major Cox, 75th regiment; whilst the 4th division, composed of native levies, was placed under the orders of Field-Commandant[1] Van Wyk, whose post was for a time on the north-eastern frontier of the Colony, for the purpose of acting as a check in that quarter, on our neighbours, the Tambookies. Colonel Cuyler, a retired officer long settled in the Colony, had, with a Burgher force, charge of the district of Uitenhage; while Colonel England—whose head-quarters were at Graham's Town—was entrusted, during the ensuing operations, with the surveillance of the whole eastern frontier, from the Winterberg Mountains to the north of the Great Fish River.

A mission was despatched to Faku, the Chief of the Amaponda Kaffirs, to ensure his neutrality during the approaching events, which he not only promised, but even offered, if required, to attack Hintza; this

[1] A title here generally given to a civilian, when placed in temporary command of native levies, Burgher forces, &c.

offer was however, from motives of humanity, declined.[1]

After a most harassing guerilla warfare, the Kaffirs were, towards the latter part of February, forced to evacuate the Fish River Bush, and then took refuge in the Amatola Mountains, whither they were followed up by our troops. But the same spirit of forbearance and humanity which had prompted the refusal of Faku's offer still actuated the Commander-in-Chief; who, although he might have further greatly crippled the enemy by burning their villages, and by destroying their crops and gardens, refrained from so doing from the motives above alleged.

While the 3rd and 4th divisions of the Army occupied the attention of the enemy in front, Colonel Smith—making a *détour* with a detachment—succeeded, on the 7th of April, in surprising a large body of them, which was stationed behind the Buffaloe Mountains. In this affair several Kaffirs were slain, and a large number of cattle was captured. Leaving part of his force to watch the Gaikas and T'Slambies, who still occupied the Amatola and Chumie Mountains; Sir Benjamin d'Urban, on the 11th of April, 1835, at the head of the 1st and 2nd divisions of the army, commenced his advance on Hintza's country, for the purpose of calling him to account for his several misdeeds.

On the 15th of April, the force encamped on the

[1] See Godlonton's account of the Kaffir irruption of 1834-5. How far Sir B. d'Urban may have been justified in rejecting this offer may perhaps admit of discussion. Nothing can, however, more fully tend to repel the charges brought against him, of inhumanity and of being influenced by a vindictive feeling against our foes.

banks of the Kye; and Colonel Smith, who had advanced fifteen miles to the eastward of that river, received a deputation of Hintza's Amapakati, or councillors, whom he sent back to their chief, desiring the latter to come in person, and have an interview with Sir Benjamin d'Urban. In order to give time for receiving his reply, the force remained stationary on the following day, which was passed in examining the great capabilities presented by the Kye as a frontier line of defence, and which proved its superiority, in that respect, over both the Fish and Buffaloe Rivers; the banks of the first named river being precipitous, and divested of underwood; two great impediments to the abstraction of Colonial cattle by the Kaffirs.

Before advancing into Hintza's country, Sir Benjamin d'Urban issued the following Proclamation, which fully tends to show the spirit of forbearance and moderation by which he was actuated.

"Head-quarters on the Kye, 15th April, 1835.

"Upon crossing the Kye River, the troops will enter a country which, unless express orders be given to that effect, is not to be treated as an enemy's. Commanding officers of corps will, therefore, explain very clearly to their men, respectively, the difference between the country they are now entering and that which they have quitted; and that, unless hostilities are committed first by the inhabitants upon *them*, or that they receive due orders for guidance for that purpose, they are, on no account, to commit an act of hostility, collectively or individually, upon the people or their property; no kraals must be burnt or pillaged, nor gardens, woods, nor corn-fields meddled

with, but by regular parties, under officers appointed for this duty, to get the requisite supplies of vegetables, corn, &c.; for the regulation of which orders will be issued through the Chief of the Staff. Commanding Officers of corps are held responsible for these orders being rigidly observed; and any person belonging to their corps infringing them will be tried by a court-martial, and punished with the utmost rigour of military law. If it be judged necessary, or expedient, to resort to measures of hostility, due notice will be given of it. In this state of affairs, Commanding Officers will, however, not fail to perceive the necessity of observing the most careful discipline in their marches, camps, &c.; keeping their people well together, and ready for every occurrence which may demand their acting with effect.

"2. Whenever Divisions and Corps are halted on their march, and upon their arrival on the ground of encampment, officers commanding will pay the most particular attention that safeguards and sentries are posted upon all the gardens, that vegetables are taken from them with great care; not to commit any damage or injury; and by regular parties, under an officer, that no more are taken than absolutely required for the use of the troops; and, whenever any arrangement can be made, for remuneration, it will be invariably done. Upon the return of the foraging parties, the vegetables will be served out to the men.

(Signed) "H. G. SMITH, Chief of the Staff."

No answer having been received from Hintza up to the 24th of April, and an English messenger, of the name of Armstrong, who had been despatched to the

Colonial frontier, having meanwhile been murdered; war was formerly declared against the paramount Chief. The Fingoes[1] were taken under British protection; whilst Colonel Smith, with his usual activity, immediately leading a patrole of three hundred cavalry, succeeded, on that and the following days, in capturing upwards of fifteen thousand head of cattle, and destroying twenty or thirty Kaffirs.

Head-quarters were now moved to the River Isolo; and on the 26th, Colonel Smith, with a fresh patrole, quickly pushed on towards Hintza's Kraal, situated in the rugged, broken country, between the Kye and the T' Somo; and seized between nine and ten thousand head of cattle, many of them bearing Colonial marks. Such was the rapidity of the Colonel's movements, that Hintza's principal wife narrowly escaped being captured; and the Chief himself, surprised at being thus followed into his very strongholds—whilst, at the same time, attacked on the side of the Bashee by the Tambookies, and a body of cavalry and Fingoes, under Captain Warden—apparently lost heart, and shortly afterwards presented himself as a suppliant at the British camp, where he was courteously received by Sir Benjamin d'Urban.

To prevent any future misunderstanding, the communications which took place as to the terms on which peace was to be concluded, were immediately recorded in writing, to the following effect:—

"1. I demand from the Chief Hintza the restoration of 50,000 head of cattle, and of 1000 horses,

[1] A tribe enslaved by the Kaffirs, and of which some account will be given in a subsequent chapter.

to be approved of by the commissioners, whom I shall appoint to receive and examine them; 25,000 head of cattle, and 500 horses immediately, as hostilities will continue till they are delivered; and 25,000 head of cattle, and 500 horses in one year from this day.[1]

"2. I demand that Hintza, as the acknowledged Chief of Western Kaffirland, shall issue his imperative commands, and cause them to be obeyed by the chiefs of the Tribes of Tyali, Macomo, Eno, Botman, Dushani, T' Slambie, Umhala, and their dependants, instantly to cease hostilities, and give up to me or to one of the divisions of my forces all the firearms which they may possess.

"3. I demand that the murderer of William Purcell (or if a Fingoe servant, acting under subornation, the suborner to the deed), be immediately brought to the condign punishment of death by the Kaffir authorities, and in presence of commissioners, whom I shall appoint to witness the execution, and to whom the Chief Hintza will cause to be delivered three hundred head of cattle (to be approved of by the said commissioners), for the benefit of the widow and family of the murdered man.

"4. I demand that the same atonement be made

[1] This demand was subsequently mitigated to that of 2500 head of cattle and 100 horses; in lieu of which Kreili, the son and successor of Hintza, offered to give up an extent of territory five or six miles broad, and extending from the Kye to the Bashee, which would have opened an overland communication between Natal and the eastern province. But the acceptance of this advantageous offer, with the rest of Sir Benjamin d'Urban's measures, was disallowed by Lord Glenelg.

for the murder of Armstrong, as that demanded for the murder of Purcell.

"5. I demand, that for the full and due execution of the above conditions, the Chief Hintza shall deliver into my hands here on the spot and immediately, two hostages, to be chosen by me from among the chief persons about him. All this well and duly complied with, I will cause hostilities to cease as soon as 25,000 head of cattle and 500 horses shall have been delivered to the commissioners, and enter into a treaty of peace between the Colony and Hintza.

"(Signed) B. D'URBAN, Governor of the
"Colony of the Cape of Good Hope,
"Commander-in-Chief.

"Done in my camp on the Isolo, 29th April, 1835."

Hintza not only acceded to the above conditions, but, as a pledge for the fulfilment of the second part of the first article, offered *voluntarily* to remain as a hostage in our hands.

Such was the apparent frankness and sincerity displayed on this occasion by Hintza, that Sir Benjamin d'Urban—not doubting for a moment his good faith—issued orders for the immediate evacuation of his country. No sooner, however, had this measure been carried into effect, than an indiscriminate massacre of the Fingoes took place by their former masters.

The reply of Hintza, when summoned before the Governor to answer for this barbarous act, was characteristic in the extreme. "May I not slay my own dogs?" was the reply made by the African chief; who assumed, at the same time, a well feigned air of sur-

prise, that such a right should for an instant be called in question. Being, however, informed, that unless this butchery were instantly put a stop to, he should himself be hanged, he reluctantly sent orders to that effect; but was nevertheless placed under "surveillance," until the whole of the Fingoes in his territory, (amounting to between seven or eight thousand men) with their women, children, and cattle, were safely seen across the Kye; the passage of which they effected on the 9th of May.

Hintza, still professing the greatest anxiety to carry immediately into effect the terms of the late treaty, suggested that for this purpose he should accompany Colonel Smith with a *small* party of our troops to the banks of the Bashee; where he stated that the greater part of the stolen cattle was then assembled; and which he would use his influence in causing to be given up. This request was acceded to. As suspicions, however, began now to be entertained of Hintza's sincerity, and treachery being suspected to lurk at the bottom of his design, five hundred picked men were selected for this expedition; his son Kreili, and his relation, Bookoo, being meanwhile detained as hostages in the Governor's camp. The following admonitory document was next read and fully explained to the chief; and a proclamation was also issued, declaring the Kye to be from henceforth the eastern boundary of the Colony.

Sir Benjamin d'Urban's Admonition to Hintza.

1. "Twelve days ago, Hintza, the heart of his country being occupied by the troops of the king my master, his personal residence in danger, and his further resistance useless, came into my camp and sued for peace.

"2. I then set forth and prescribed to him the terms upon which peace could alone be granted.

"3. And on the following day, having duly considered them, he accepted them all, and solemnly ratified them; remaining himself with his son and heir, by his own choice and free will, as hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty which he had then ratified.

"4. This deportment on the part of the Chief appeared so frank and honourable, that I was induced to abstain from using a power reserved to me by the concluding article of the treaty: that 'of continuing hostilities until the first instalment of the cattle should be paid;' and to save his people from the scourge of war in the mean time, I accordingly commanded hostilities to cease on the part of my troops, thereby foregoing the additional advantages which the following up those already gained could not have failed to secure.

"5. What return has Hintza made for all this forbearance? He has deceived me throughout.

"6. He has, it is true, (very reluctantly) complied with the second stipulation of the treaty; but the first, third, and fourth, the most important of all, are still unexecuted; and although their fulfilment has been repeatedly urged to him, no effectual steps have yet been taken to that end.

"7. In these circumstances, I have a full and just right to consider and treat him as a prisoner of war, and to send him to Cape Town; but as I am still disposed to believe his asseverations, that his presence in the midst of his people may give him the power of fulfilling his solemn promise, I will abstain from

doing so, and will not for the present send him out of his own country; but it is upon the condition, *proffered by himself*, that he accompanies a division of my troops through such parts of the country, as its commanding officer, Colonel Smith, may select; and exert his full power as chief of it, to collect the cattle and horses due, and to apprehend the murderers of the two British subjects; and to supply the three hundred head of cattle demanded for each of the widows of the murdered men.

"Meanwhile I retain as hostages, according to the fifth demand of my treaty, Hintza, his son Kreili, and his relative Bookoe; making the latter especially responsible for the two Englishmen who were murdered in the district under his government, and near his residence; and those murderers it was his duty at the time to have apprehended, and caused to have been duly punished; and considering the breach of the solemn treaty which has been committed as above, I will also retain in my hands the other followers of Hintza, now in my camp, with the exception of Umtina and two others, whom the Chief may select.

(Signed) "B. D'URBAN,
"Governor of the Cape of Good Hope,
"Commander-in-Chief.

"Done at my Head-Quarters on the Kye, 10th May, 1835."

Proclamation issued on the 10th of May, 1835, by H. Ex. Major-General Sir Benjamin d'Urban.

"Whereas, in the months of December and January last past, the Kaffir Chiefs and their Tribes inhabiting

the country along the eastern frontier of His Britannic Majesty's Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and between that line and the River Kye, viz.: Tyali, Macomo, Eno, Botman, T' Slambie, Dushani, and others their connexions and dependants; with the concurrence and countenance of Hintza, Chief of the country between the Kye and the Bashee, and paramount Chief of Kaffirland, during a period of established peace and amity between the Colony and those Chiefs, without provocation, or declaration of war, suddenly and unexpectedly broke into the colonial frontier along its whole extent; at the same time laid waste all the country with fire and sword; savagely murdering the unprepared inhabitants of the farms; plundered and burnt their houses; carried off horses, cattle, sheep, &c.; leaving those districts a desert:

"And whereas, with the troops of the king my master, I have defeated, chastised, and dispersed these Chiefs and their Tribes, and overrun and conquered their country, and thence penetrated into that of Hintza, compelling him to sue for peace and to accept the terms of it, which I had offered and which he had ratified: And whereas, it is absolutely necessary to provide for the future security of the Colony, against such unprovoked aggressions, which can only be done by removing these treacherous and irreclaimable savages to a safer distance:

"I now, therefore, in the name and behalf of His Britannic Majesty, and by virtue of the power vested in me, as His Majesty's representative—

"Do hereby proclaim and declare that the eastern boundary of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope is

henceforward extended eastward to the right bank of the Kye River; its new boundary, effected by this extension, being henceforth a line commencing at the source of the Kye River in the Stormberg Mountains, thence following its course along the right (or western) bank, through the White Kye into the Great Kye, and thence to the north of the latter.

"From the aforesaid country, which they have lost by the operations of the war which they had so wantonly provoked, and which they have justly forfeited, the above-mentioned Chiefs, viz., Tyali, Macomo, Eno, Botman, T' Slambie, Dushani, &c., with their Tribes, are for ever expelled, and will be treated as enemies, if they be found therein.

"God save the King! By his Excellency's command.

(Signed)

"H. G. SMITH, Colonel, Chief of the Staff.

"Head-Quarters on the Kye. Given under my hand and seal, this 10th day of May, 1835."

Colonel Smith now commenced his march towards the Bashee, accompanied by Hintza; who desiring to know in what relation he then stood, was distinctly informed that he was looked upon as a hostage, having voluntarily placed himself in that position, as a pledge for the due fulfilment of the late Treaty; and that, as such, if he attempted any act of treachery, or made any endeavours to escape, he would be instantly shot.

The conduct of the Chief was now such as to confirm the idea that treachery was meditated, and that his intention was to lead the party into an ambush, and then effect his escape. He was, therefore, ob-

served with redoubled vigilance. The following day these suspicions were fully confirmed; for having led the detachment towards a small river, called the Zabecca, in the neighbourhood of which he now asserted that the cattle were concealed, Hintza chose the moment when the party were slowly toiling up a difficult pass, to dash ahead of the mounted guides who led the way, and urging his horse to its utmost speed, soon completely distanced them. Colonel Smith was, however, quickly on his track: after a sharp pursuit closed with the Chief, succeeded in dismounting him; and, as the latter still continued his flight on foot, he was shot by one of the Colonel's escort.[1] From the following account will be learnt the particulars of this important event, the main features of which have been greatly distorted by the anti-Colonial party :—

"Colonel Smith was, however, better mounted than Hintza; and spurring his horse with violence, he succeeded, after a smart run and with the most desperate exertion, in overtaking him: he called on him to stop; but he only urged his horse to greater exertion, stabbing at the Colonel with his assegaïs. The Colonel drew a pistol, but it snapped; a second was used, but with like success. The pursuit was continued for some distance further, the troops following in the rear as they best could. At length the Colonel by a desperate effort again reached the Chief, and struck him with the butt-end of his pistol, which he then dropped. The Chief smiled in derision. The second pistol was hurled at him, striking him again on the back part of the head, but with no other effect than causing him to

[1] See Appendix at the end of the volume.

redouble his efforts to escape. They were now within half a mile of the Kaffir huts. The Colonel had no weapon whatever, while the Chief was armed with assegaïs. The case was desperate, and there was not a moment for reflection. Urging, therefore, his horse to its utmost energy, the Colonel again got within reach of the athletic Chieftain, and seizing him by the corner of the kaross, or cloak, by a violent effort hurled him to the ground. At this moment their horses were at their utmost speed, and on Hintza being thrown, the Colonel's horse refused to obey the rein, carrying his rider forward in spite of every effort to stop him. The Chief, though thrown heavily, was instantly on his feet, and drawing an assegaï, threw it after his assailant with so much steadiness and accuracy, that it only missed him by a few inches. He then instantly turned off at a right angle, and fled down the steep bank of the Zabecca.

"The momentary delay caused by the incidents detailed, enabled the foremost of the guides to approach within gunshot distance; and their leader, Mr. Southey, instantly called out to the Chief, in the Kaffir tongue, to stop. No heed was given to this, and he fired, wounding him in the left leg: Hintza fell, but in an instant regained his feet, and continued his flight swiftly down the hill. Southey discharged his second barrel, and the Chief again pitched forward, but once more recovered himself, and ultimately succeeded in gaining the cover of the thicket which lines the banks of the river. Southey and Lieutenant Balfour (aid-de-camp to Colonel Smith) followed, leaping down the shelving bank; the former keeping up, the

latter, down the stream. They had thus proceeded, in opposite directions, for some distance, when Southey was suddenly startled by an assegaï striking the stone, or cliff, on which he was climbing. Turning quickly round at the noise, he perceived a Kaffir—his hand and uplifted assegaï being only visible, so near him—that it was only by his recoil that he had room for the length of his gun. At the impulse of the moment, he raised his piece, and fired; and Hintza, the paramount Chief of Kaffirland, ceased to live."[1]

There exists not the shadow of a doubt, that no blame can be attached to any one for the death of Hintza. By his treacherous conduct, he had brought it entirely on himself: he had been duly warned that, on any attempt on his part to escape, he would most assuredly be shot. After endeavouring to lead into an ambuscade the party whom he had professed to guide, he made that attempt; and, whilst doing his best to assegaï the man who had proved his greatest benefactor and protector, he met his well-merited fate.

Had Hintza succeeded in effecting his escape, the safety of Colonel Smith's small party would, in all probability, have been seriously jeopardized; for it was surrounded on all sides by Kaffirs, who apparently only awaited the liberation of the great Chief to fall on it from every quarter. This intention was, in a great measure, frustrated by his death, which—failing the possibility of his re-capture—was, therefore,

[1] From Godlonton's account of the "Kaffir irruption of 1834-5." Had Mr. Southey not instantly fired, it is more than probable he would have been himself assegaïed: the act was, therefore, purely one of self-defence.

in every point of view, a desirable circumstance; a circumstance which was, however, laid hold of as matter of reprobation by the parties above alluded to at the Cape; whose secret and—to those mainly concerned in the transaction—anonymous information, was most injudiciously received by the Colonial Secretary of State himself.

In consequence of this underhand, one-sided evidence, orders from England were sent out for the assembly of a Court of Inquiry to investigate the particulars attending Hintza's death;[1] from the proceedings of which is extracted the following evidence, as given by Colonel, now Sir Harry Smith, and which will be found in the ensuing chapter.

[1] The only thing connected with Hintza's death to which the slightest blame can possibly attach, is the circumstance of his ear, or ears, having apparently been subsequently cut off. The evidence given on this subject, before the Court of Inquiry, is very obscure; it never came to light who perpetrated so unmanly an outrage: this case of mutilation was of course distorted—greatly exaggerated, and made the most of—by the parties above alluded to.

CHAPTER XV.

COLONEL SMITH'S NARRATIVE, AS TO HINTZA'S DEATH.

The Kaffirs clandestinely urged on by Hintza—Policy of Hintza—Reasons for declaring war against him—Further details—Colonel Smith's kindness to Hintza—Treachery of the latter—Full particulars as to his death—General opinion of the Kaffirs, with respect to this event.

"As early as the month of February, 1835, his Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, having indubitable information that Hintza clandestinely not only promoted and encouraged the war upon the Colony to his utmost, but that numbers of his subjects, and those of his brother Bokoo, were actually in the field with Macomo and Tyalie, and formed part of the mass of barbarians who rushed into the Colony with the merciless knife and firebrand, carrying devastation, murder, and rapine, before them, by one fell swoop, from the line of the Winterberg to the sea, thence to the Sunday's River, bearing off immense herds of cattle, horses, and sheep.

"Hence it became necessary to call upon this Chief for an explanation of his conduct: communications were opened with him through Pato, on the one hand, and the Head-Quarter interpreter, Mr. Fynn, and by the Field-Commandant, Van Wyke, and the Tambookie

Chief, Mapasa, on the other. Van Wyke was invited to meet Hintza, with a few men; and a most diabolical and treacherous plot being discovered to Van Wyke, that Hintza intended to murder him and his followers, he proceeded with two hundred of his armed burghers. After some delay, Hintza met him; and nothing could possibly be more shuffling, unsatisfactory, or evasive, than Hintza's conduct.

"All this time, the plundered cattle, as well as many of the cattle of the tribes of Macomo and Tyalie, were in Hintza's country, and under his protection. Hintza's policy was evident; by a war, he knew the plundered cattle would be driven to his country—possession was insured him, whoever was victor. Many of his most influential men were actually in the Colony, particularly a chief, (now turned freebooter) Umjalousie, with all his own followers, his own nephew, Umenkoo, with many others.

"Hintza's vacillating, temporizing conduct, was of a piece with his policy; he was fully aware of the premeditated invasion; did he, as in duty bound, acquaint the Colonial authorities?—one, the very man (Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset) who had rescued him, not many years before, from utter destruction!

"The documents marked A, from 1 to 20, contain various reports and information on the subject of Hintza's participation in the war, and are those from which the measure adopted towards him originated, and upon which the movement of the troops into his country was directed at the period; and, although these contain ample evidence of Hintza's hostility, I annex the depositions of the Chiefs Macomo, Tyalie,

Gazela, Botman, Eno, the Pakati, or Councillors, Gamya and Xo Xo, and the deposition of two of the most principal of Hintza's councillors, who came with him to the British camp, and remained there until his death; also of a notorious Hottentot, formerly a sergeant in the Cape corps of infantry, Louis Arnoldus: these are marked B, from 1 to 10. Thus by our former enemies is corroborated most fully the information which actuated the procedure towards Hintza, at the moment.

"These are the causes why war on Hintza was unavoidable. Justice demanded it. The receiver of stolen goods, according to common law, is received as a delinquent of the deepest dye. Here is a powerful Chief, the covert aider and abettor, by every act of cunning he was so fully capable of, treated civilly and peaceably by the British power, under the Governor of the Colony in person; for, when the British force entered his dominions, hostilities were not only prohibited, but even the produce of the gardens protected: I, as Chief of the Staff, was directed by his Excellency to make every arrangement for paying for it in beads and other baubles, brought with the army for that purpose.

"Hintza would neither appear, nor produce the stolen property, said to amount to 150,000 head, take the medium. One of our subjects was murdered near to our camp, returning with a letter party from the Colony. What, I ask, was the alternative? War was declared, after waiting several days, and receiving shuffling messages; and, if the war upon Hintza was an unjust one, every war recorded in the page of history is so, too—and every conqueror a murderer.

"The measures in progress, and adopted at this period, are fully detailed in the Government Notice,[1] bearing date 13th April; also the Government Gazette of 22nd May.

"After the declaration of war, in three days' operations, I so moved with the force under my orders, as to capture 15,000 head of cattle—1,200, in one group, in the bed of the Kei (Colonial). I penetrated, by a succession of rapid marches, to Hintza's kraal: *vide* my despatches, bearing date 30th April. He sent in messengers to his Excellency, who refused to treat with any one but himself: he came, and immediately proceeded to business, as detailed in the Government Notice, D. No. 2, a copy of which is annexed.

"In the Governor's Camp, on the Izolo, the terms of the treaty of peace were read to him. He demanded until the next morning to consider them, and he and his great councillor, Umtini, dined with me. After dinner, he requested I would dismiss my other guests —that I, my interpreter, Mr. Shepstone, (whose knowledge of the Kaffir language is perfect) himself, and Umtini, should go over the treaty of peace, and that I would explain again every article to him. The most practised diplomatist could not have entered on the subject more minutely. He had then a long conversation with Umtini, a shrewd, clever fellow, when Hintza said, 'Listen: I am prepared to fulfil every article of the treaty. The only point in which there may be some delay is the horses, for they are a long

[1] In the original, references are given to these and subsequent documents mentioned, but which, from want of space, are unavoidably omitted in this work.—AUTHOR.

way off, and to-morrow morning I will give the word to the Governor;' which he did, with every ceremony, to render important the transaction; and concluded a treaty of peace, which he never had, as has since been evident, the slightest intention of fulfilling.

"On the conclusion of the Treaty, he was loaded with costly presents, as was also his son, 'Kreili,' on his arrival in the camp; besides which, gifts of various descriptions were sent to his principal wife, 'Nomsa;' and, during the whole time he remained with the troops, he was an inmate of my family, living at my table, and sitting in my tent many hours of the day.

"Upon the 2nd May, the troops marched to a camp on the Dabakazi, there to await the arrival of the missionaries and escort from Clarkebury, and the cattle to be paid by treaty. Hintza was allowed his own ground to pitch his tent, which he did in the corner of a wood, on the flank of the troops: the nights were then very dark: during the encampment of the troops here, the officer on picquet reported to me, just before dark, that at least two hundred Kaffirs, all armed, had crept into the camp, by twos and threes, around Hintza, although he was prohibited having more than twenty followers, who were allowed to have their arms. I sent to Hintza, to say that 'these men must either go, or lodge their arms in one place, under charge of the picquet.' He said, 'his people would never give up their arms.' 'Well, then order them to leave the camp.' He said, 'No; they must stay.' I sent for the interpreter, and went with Lieutenant-Colonel Peddie to where they all where, and desired them to lay down their arms. They instantly began

to untie their assegaïs, and prepared to throw; when I ordered the picquet, a company of the 72nd regiment, to fall in, and wheel to its left, bringing them in front of the Kaffirs, who instantly cried out, 'We will lay down our arms;' which they did, where I directed. That very night, Hintza was to have made his escape, which was afterwards told me by one of his councillors.

"Hostilities were to cease when he delivered up 25,000 head of cattle into our hands. But, upon his faith, which I nothing doubted, his Excellency, dictated by a humane disposition, caused an instant cessation. In five days, he agreed to pay 25,000 head of cattle: in nine days, although hostilities had ceased, he had paid 30 head. All this time he was living with me, I loaded him with presents and with kindness. When asked by his Excellency, to leave hostages in our hands, he said, 'No; I shall remain myself; your cattle shall soon be brought to you:' thereby admitting that it was in his possession—that cattle, the property of the plundered and murdered subjects of his Majesty.

"Upon the faith of the Treaty, the army marched upon the Kei. The operations of this period are detailed in the Government notice, bearing date 15th May.

"It became my duty to convey his Excellency's decision to Hintza, that, as he had failed to fulfil any part of the Treaty—that, as his subjects had cruelly murdered the Fingoes, taken under our protection—and as the object of the British advance into his territory, viz., the recovery of our stolen cattle, had been defeated by his want of faith, his Excellency would

move over the Kei, and he must accompany him. He was deeply distressed, and Bokoo said: 'It is a great misfortune our Chief should be taken out of our country; we will do what you desire, and what we have agreed.' Hintza said to me, 'My father, you have been my great friend; take some troops, as I have often asked you before, and I will go with you: my people will soon obey me, and your country's cattle shall be restored.' When I made this proposition to his Excellency, he divined the real intention of this treachery. I said, 'Pray, let him go. I am answerable to your Excellency for his security: after my liberal and generous conduct to him, he cannot wish to deceive me.' His Excellency assented, and he was overjoyed when I told him. Before we started, his son (who was much attached to me, and has ever since evinced it) prayed me to take care of his father. I begged the father to take leave of him, which he did in a brutal manner, although the youth's tears flowed in torrents.

"On leaving the bed of the Kei, I had a long conversation with Hintza. After the troops had ascended the hill and halted, he said, 'Now, my father, are you going to make war upon my people?' I answered, 'Certainly not, Hintza: I am with you to enforce your orders; but you must not attempt to escape. If you do, mark me, you will be assuredly shot; I am responsible to my king if you escape; I shall be disgraced; and, after the kindness you acknowledged to have received from me, you would not wish that.' 'No,' he said, 'I shall ever be grateful.' I added, 'The cattle of our people being recovered, you are free, be where it may;' and I had his Excellency's orders

to that effect. On that evening, he contrived to send off a mounted man to drive the country in the direction he proposed to conduct me, which he did to a particular pass, where he meditated making his escape. These proceedings are fully detailed in my despatch to his Excellency of the 18th May.

" Although in this despatch to his Excellency I have given the outlines of the circumstances immediately preceding Hintza's fate, now that it has become a question, I shall enter more minutely into detail, so as fully to lay before the Court every act and deed of mine connected with it. A plan of the ground I here annex, as a further elucidation of this part of my narrative.

" In ascending the smaller hill from the bed of the Kebaka, it being exceedingly steep, and the day very warm, I halted on this ridge, to collect as well as to refresh the troops. Hintza had led his horse up it, and came and sat near me. The road here divided, and some cattle were seen on the top of the mountain, to which one road ascended, while the other led up and through a very thickly-wooded bank, precipitous, rocky, and only one narrow path up its summit. I called the interpreter, Mr. Hoole, and said, ' Well, Hintza, which road shall we take?' He said, ' The cattle to the left are lost to us; we must ascend the pass to our right:' where he would soon bring me to more cattle than I could drive—some magnificent oxen of the *Canta* breed, (his ancestors) who, although very fine, were very troublesome. I observed a particular degree of anxiety about him; and when the troops had closed up, I again moved forward, riding up the kloof, while I

directed all the mounted men to dismount to save their horses. I was some fifty yards ahead of the column, by myself, climbing the rugged ascent; when, while looking back and seeing the troops so far from me, Hintza came galloping past me, and two of his followers; I called to him to stop; he looked round, and I presented a pistol at him. He stopped, and smiled, and I really felt quite hurt at having suspected him of treachery; and I was angry with Mr. Southey and his guides, and desired them to be more cautious, for he had particular orders so to guard him, that no such occurrence as the present might take place, and thereby preclude the necessity of violence.

"I had barely ascended the pass, the corps of guides and Hintza rather preceding me, and had a momentary glance of the country before me, which I observed to be an open tongue of land, descending on a gradual slope to a turn of the River Kebaka; rather steep towards the bend of the river, and running parallel with it, until the tongue of land—about two miles long—and the river, again conjoined; that the bed of the river was very woody, and many Kaffirs on the edge of it on the opposite side, when I heard a cry of—'Look, Colonel, he is off!' I saw Hintza thirty yards ahead of every one of his guard. I was aware mine was the only horse which could overtake him, for he was remarkably well mounted; I spurred violently to overtake him. He was—ere my horse was at his speed—a hundred yards ahead of me. I called to him: he looked round, but urged his horse the more; I levelled my pistol at him, it snapped; I immediately levelled the other, which snapped also (I scarcely knew whether they were

loaded or not). I was then some time racing after him—I neared him, and, by violently lifting my horse up to him, I struck him with the butt-end of the pistol on the head. He exerted himself with great energy, stabbing at me with his bundle of assegaïs. The exertions which brought my horse up to him injured his speed, and Hintza was again three horses' length ahead of me. I had dropped one pistol; I threw the other after him, which struck him on the head. I observed the Kaffirs on the bank of the river, running down into the bush. I felt quite certain Hintza must effect his escape. I rode therefore between him and the river in the pursuit, intending, when he turned towards it, to drive my horse into his flank. I had nothing whatever to assail him with, and his bundle of assegaïs were as formidable as a lance. In this racing, I found my horse rapidly overtaking him: I rode up to him, and endeavoured to put my left hand on his bridle. He stabbed ferociously at me with his assegaïs, which having passed my body at a lunge, I seized him by the throat, and twisting my hand in his kaross, I dragged him from his horse. My intention was to have pulled up my horse, ere he could disengage an assegaï from the bundle, and ride over him; but my horse, half blown, was totally ungovernable, and he ran away with me into a Kaffir village, where I stopped him by driving him against one of the huts.

"At the time I pulled the Chief off his horse, no one was within some hundred yards of me; I was therefore in the village alone and unarmed, where I expected every moment to be surrounded. But the

Kaffirs, who were very numerous around us, had all concentrated in the bed of the Kebaka, evidently for the purpose of rescuing Hintza, as would have been planned by Umtini, who was on a height, looking on. After I had turned my horse, the first person I met was Mr. Southey, calling to the Chief 'Hintza,' in Kaffir, 'to stop;' as the latter was running towards the bed of the river. I had previously given Mr. Southey, who commanded his escort, orders never to fire upon him, but so to watch him as to ensure his safety. Despairing of re-taking him at the moment, I said, 'Fire on him, Mr. Southey.' My horse was blown; he could barely walk; and my aide-de-camp coming within my hearing, I called to him—'Away after Hintza! and never quit him with your life! but mind he is taken prisoner!' Mr. Hoole, the interpreter, coming up, I desired him to 'go down to the edge of the bush, and bed of the Kebaka,' which I observed Hintza had gained, 'to call out to him to give himself up, that no harm should come to him, and to mind that none did.' He did so.

"Mr. Southey and my aide-de-camp leaped down a bank into the thick bush in a most spirited manner, knowing it was full of Kaffirs. In a moment Mr. Southey saw a Kaffir in the act of throwing his assegaï; he could barely see his head and arm uplifted; he fired, and shot him. He proved to be Hintza, when my aide-de-camp and Mr. Southey got up to him. In his right hand was grasped the assegaï he would have slain Mr. Southey with; in his left, the bundle of assegaïs. No other individual had leaped down the bank.

"Upon the report of 'We have him!' reaching me—for I was half a mile off—I called out, 'Pass the word not to hurt, or insult him, but bring him to me;' and I turned to the sergeant of my escort, and said, 'Get a riem ready: he shall not escape again.' I was at this time in the act of disposing of the troops, so to invest the wooded bed of the river as to ensure taking him, as well as to keep a reserve in hand to check a momentary rush of the barbarians to rescue their chief, which I had every reason to anticipate from the numbers around me, when my aide-de-camp came up and reported that Hintza was shot. I was exceedingly annoyed and angry; but he soon appeased me, by proving how totally impossible it was to take him prisoner, and that it was an act of self-defence on the part of Mr. Southey, who, when he fired, did not know even that it was Hintza, for the wood was full of Kaffirs; and the justness as well as accuracy of the description satisfied me, by making it evident that it was impossible. At the same time, Mr. Balfour, in his own defence, reminding me how boldly and dexterously he had taken Maguay on a former occasion when the country was perfectly open, I said, 'Well, I am sure you would, had it been possible; but I shall ever deeply regret it, although the blood of the treacherous Chief is on his own head.'

"On my return to his Excellency on the Impotshana, on the right bank of the Kei, I sent Mr. Shepstone, the interpreter, to acquaint Kreili, his uncle Bokoo, and their attendants, with every circumstance connected with the death of their Chief. They exclaimed, 'It must have been his own fault, for I had

ever been so kind to him, and that, as he went with me to get the cattle, my killing him would defeat my own object;' and there is not a Kaffir in the land, chief or serf, who, speaking of his death, does not invariably assert it was his own fault—he tried to escape, when he had promised not to do so. A Kaffir will never surrender—as he gives no quarter, he expects none—therefore will fight ferociously until killed.

"Upon the day succeeding my return, (the 19th of May) Kreili and Bokòo, his uncle, ratified the Treaty of Peace entered into with Hintza—the former was immediately released as a hostage, loaded with presents, and sent to assume the government of his people—while Bokoo and one of his councillors were detained as hostages, who, in camp on the Buffalo, attempted to make their escape. Such is the faith of these barbarous people.

"Upon Kreili's return, he appeared to exert himself to collect cattle, and paid some hundreds; when he communicated with his Excellency, praying that his uncle Bokoo might be released, to aid him in the government of his tribe, when the cattle should also be paid; after which, he never paid any, until called upon formally, when, upon one occasion, forty-seven old bulls and cows were sent; upon another, one hundred and eighty-seven cattle of the very worst description."[1]

[1] The river "Kebaka," so frequently alluded to in the above narrative, is generally called "Zabecca;" the orthography has, however, been allowed to remain as in the printed document whence the above narrative was extracted. It may be necessary to explain to the reader uninitiated in Colonial phraseology that the "riem" alluded to is a long leathern thong, with which horses are generally secured.—AUTHOR.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE KAFFIR WAR OF 1835, FROM THE DEATH OF HINTZA TO THE RECALL OF SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN.

Colonel Smith proceeds to the Umtata—Rescue of Fingoes—Peace concluded with Kreili—Warfare in the Amatola—Destruction of Lieutenant Baillie's party—Macomo—The anti-Colonial party—Memorandum—Treaty concluded with the Gaikas—Termination of the Kaffir war—Lord Glenelg's enactments—Recall of Sir B. d'Urban.

The foregoing is generally considered a most impartial account of the manner in which Hintza met his well-merited fate—a transaction, that—as I have before stated—was so eagerly seized upon by the "Saints" at home—instigated, as they were, by "the vile slanders and wicked accusations of an individual, who furnished a report, framed by his inventive genius"[1]—to fix on the gallant Smith the stigma of most inhuman conduct. But it would be mere waste of time to say a single word more of justification, in behalf of an action which so plainly speaks for itself.

On the death of Hintza, Colonel Smith and his small detachment—spite of the many hostile Kaffirs

[1] See, in Parliamentary Correspondence, the letter from Colonel Smith to Sir B. d'Urban, dated King William's Town, 17th April, 1836.

by whom he was on all sides surrounded—pushed on with unparalleled rapidity to the Umtata River; whither the plundered Colonial cattle had been driven by Hintza's orders, whilst that treacherous Chief himself was misleading the pursuing party from their real track.

After capturing a great number of oxen, and rescuing one thousand additional Fingoes from the tyranny of their cruel taskmasters, Colonel Smith, on the 17th of May, returned to head-quarters; where, on receiving intelligence of the death of Hintza, Sir Benjamin d'Urban concluded a Treaty of peace with his son, Kreili, through the medium of the principal Amapakati, or State Councillors. One of the chief articles of this Treaty was, that the Kye should, in future, be considered the Eastern Colonial boundary; whilst it was contemplated to locate the rescued Fingoes in the lately-acquired territory between that River and the Keiskamma. After the Treaty with Kreili, Sir Benjamin d'Urban, leaving Colonel Smith to scour the banks of the Buffaloe River, returned to Graham's Town, for the purpose of concerting further measures.[1]

Meanwhile, a desultory warfare was still prosecuted in the Amatola Mountains, where Macomo, at the head of the Gaikas, greatly harassed our troops; and, in the course of the numerous skirmishes which then occurred, a detachment under Lieutenant Baillie fell into an ambush, and was cut off to a man by the Kaffirs; whilst constant marauding expeditions continued to

[1] The petition noticed in the Appendix was then presented by the inhabitants of Albany.

be carried on by the latter, within the previous bounds of the Colony. This state of affairs lasted throughout the months of July and August; by which time both parties appeared heartily tired of so protracted a warfare, carried on on our part with an insufficient force against an invisible and intangible foe; and, moreover, crippled in our movements from a want of cavalry: all the horses being now completely worn out.

Still Macomo would not come to terms. Amid the fastnesses of the Amatola, he continued obstinately to stand his ground; "and it was further understood that the enemy was encouraged to a protracted and obstinate resistance, by a knowledge that a party in the Colony, whom he had been led to believe possessed considerable influence, supported his pretensions, and considered the proceedings of his Excellency the Governor as cruel and unjust."[1]

Strange that the baneful society here alluded to, which —from our earliest possession of Southern Africa—has ever proved an envenomed thorn in its side; whose treasonable proceedings have ever favoured its enemies — whose calumnies and misrepresentations have ever misled and deceived the British Government and British public—strange indeed it appears, that such a set should not only remain unpunished for their manifold misdeeds, but be still suffered to retain their position in a Colony which they have so often brought to the very brink of ruin and utter destruction!

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[1] See Godlonton's account of the Kaffir invasion of 1834-5, p. 215.

At the period of Hintza's surrender, in the month of May preceding, the following memorandum had been issued for the instruction of the officer left to carry on hostilities in the Amatola; whilst the head-quarters of the force advanced, as has been seen, on Hintza's country.

"1. Memorandum for the guidance of Major Cox, as to the general basis of terms which he is authorized to hold forth to the Kaffir Tribes sueing for peace:—

"By my Proclamation and Declaration, issued and made respectively on the 10th May, 1835, on the bank of the Kye, in presence of Hintza, Chief of the country between the Kye and the Bashee, and styled and acknowledged by the Kaffirs, who have inhabited the country between the latter River and the Colony: 'paramount Chief of Kaffirland,' the whole of the country between the former Colonial boundary line, viz., running from the sea up the Keiskamma and Chumie Rivers, to the Winterberg and the Kye River, from its source in the Stormberg Mountains to the sea, has become the territory of his Britannic Majesty, and now forms a part of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and of his Majesty's Colonial dominions; and the Chiefs Tyali, Macomo, Eno, Botma, Dushanie, T' Slambie, &c., and their Tribes, who have been in arms against the Colony, and whose acts towards it have been so unprovoked and atrocious, are for ever expelled from the aforesaid Territory, and will be treated as enemies, if they be found therein.

"2. By a paramount order sent by Hintza to these Chiefs and their Tribes, they have been commanded to cease hostilities, and to deliver their firearms to me

or to the officers commanding the respective divisions of His Majesty's forces under my command.

"3. By corresponding instructions, sent at the same time to Major Cox, commanding the 3rd division on the side of the Amatola, Keiskamma, and Buffaloe Mountains, all of those Tribes who should come into the quarters of the troops and lay down their arms were promised present safety and protection, and the possession of the cattle and effects then belonging to them; and that the Chiefs themselves, if they should come in and deliver themselves unconditionally, should be secure of their lives, and await the ultimate commands of His Majesty the King of England, for their future disposal.

"4. Now, therefore, if the terms in the second and third foregoing paragraphs be fulfilled and complied with; if Suta, the great widow of Gaika, and her son Sandilla place themselves under my protection; and if the Chiefs above-mentioned either surrender themselves to the officers of any of my divisions, or transport themselves beyond the Kye, hostilities shall cease against them on the part of the English troops.

"5. Therefore, I will only require the expulsion from the aforesaid territory of the Chiefs aforesaid, and of those Kaffirs who were engaged in the inroads into the Colony, or in the murders of British subjects; all of whom must transport themselves beyond the line of the Kye; and, if they recross it, they will be treated as enemies.

"6. And, in consideration of the excellent conduct of Suta, the great widow of Gaika, in endeavouring to dissuade the Tribe from acts of hostility towards the

Colony, and her good treatment of several English subjects in their danger, I will acknowledge and uphold Sandilla, her son, as the Chief of the family of Gaikas; and will appoint them ample lands to reside upon, under the charge of Suta, during his nonage; and those of the Tribe whom Suta shall recommend, and who shall not have joined in the inroads into the Colony, shall be permitted to remain in the new Territory also, under Sandilla's authority and under the Colonial Government and laws; and I will also make ample provision for Matwa and Tinti, of the Tribe of Gaika, whose conduct has been good and peaceable.

"7. And, farther, in consideration of the excellent disposition and conduct of Nonube, great widow of the Chief Dushanie, of the Tribe of T'Slambie, I will acknowledge and uphold her son as Chief of that Tribe, under his mother's tutelage during his nonage; I will appoint ample lands for their reception and support, in like manner as with Suta and Sandilla; and will receive, under the protection of the Colonial Government and laws, such of the Tribe as Nonube shall recommend, and who shall not have been engaged in invading the Colony.

"In all these arrangements, it must be well understood that these Kaffirs will be British subjects living under the protection of Government, and under the Colonial laws generally, but retaining their own particular rules and customs in their internal regulations of the Tribe, so long as they shall deserve to do so.

"This is the basis of the measures which I shall adopt in regard to these Tribes, the details to be more fully

settled hereafter by Commissioners, whom I will appoint.

"But to these principles I will adhere; and all Kaffirs of all the above Tribes, whom these do not embrace, shall be required and forced to leave the Colonial territory, as now extended, according to the terms of the proclamation of the 10th of May above cited. "(Signed) B. D'URBAN,

"Governor of the Cape of Good Hope.

"Head-quarters—Camp, Impotshana, May 12, 1835."

Had it been possible to have carried into effect this judicious plan of expelling the Kaffirs from the western side of the Kye; and had this proceeding met with the approbation of the home authorities, (which subsequent events have proved would not have been the case) the Kaffir war of 1846, 1847, and 1848, might, in all probability, never have occurred. England might thus have been spared the expense of *millions;* the Colony losses to an immense amount of property and life; and, in short, a *permanent* peace with the Kaffirs might possibly have been the result. But the means at the disposal of Sir Benjamin d'Urban were found inadequate to carry this design into effect. The Kaffirs had taken refuge in the strongholds of the Amatola, among whose rocky fastnesses a desultory warfare was for many weeks kept up; until, at a conference held with the belligerent chiefs, the following Treaty was finally concluded.[1]

[1] While the Kaffirs are suffered to remain on this side of the Kye, no permanent peace can be reckoned on with these reckless savages; who, although quiet while Sir Harry Smith

Articles of a Treaty of Peace granted to the Kaffir family of Gaika, and its connexions and dependants, in the name of the King of England, by His Britannic Majesty's Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

"The above Tribe, its different branches and connexions being therein personally represented by—Macomo, Tyali, Eno. For themselves, Kusie (son of Guyamja); for Suta and her son, Sandilla; Fadani for Botman.

"And the chiefs, for the whole collectively, and each individually and independently for himself, or his own immediate family, or that which he represents, having supplicated for mercy and peace, at the hands of the Governor, and prayed to be admitted and received as subjects to the King of England, and to live henceforth under the protection and authority of the English laws, within his Majesty's aforesaid Colony; and his Majesty's Governor having, in the name of the King his master, granted the said prayer: These articles of Treaty are hereby mutually agreed on between the aforesaid contracting parties, and are concluded and ratified accordingly, in the manner and terms following:—

"1. The aforesaid Chiefs and representatives, *Macomo*, *Tyali*, *Kusie*, *Eno*, and *Fadani*, all of them in

is at hand, will, in all probability, give trouble to his successor. For a detail of the losses sustained in the war of 1834-5, with a statement of the amount of the force employed, see Appendix; where will also be found the proof, that to the eastward of the Kye there exist large tracts of fertile territory still perfectly unoccupied.

the name of the whole Tribe, its connexions and dependants, and each for himself and the branch of family of it which he represents, individually, separately, and solemnly, promise and engage to bear true allegiance to, and to be faithful subjects of, his Majesty the King of England; to be friends to his Majesty's friends, and enemies to his enemies; to obey the commands of his Majesty's Governor, and the duly constituted Colonial authorities, and to live in submission to the general laws of the Colony. The Governor and the laws, at the same time, extending *to them* the same protection and security as to the other subjects of his Majesty.

"2. To the penalties of these laws, the above Chiefs and representatives, as aforesaid, their Tribes and families, hereby become amenable, if they break them: and they must be aware that these laws inflict severe punishments, and even death itself, upon those who commit the crimes of—

"Treason, viz.: Rebellion, or taking up arms against the King, or the Government of the Colony.

"*Murder; rape; setting houses or property on fire; theft*, whether of horses, cattle, sheep, goats, or other property.

"And such penalties will be equally incurred, if they be committed by any member of the above Tribes or families against each other, as if committed against other inhabitants of the Colony.

"And they will also especially take notice and be aware, that the Fingoe Nation, having already become subjects of the King of England, any offence against the persons or property of the Fingoes will incur the

penalty of the laws, and be severely visited upon all such offenders.

"And the aforesaid Chiefs and representatives are also made aware, that any proceedings on their part, or on the part of any of their Tribes or families, as aforesaid, against any one, whether within or without their Tribe, for the pretended offence of *witchcraft*, are peremptorily forbidden by the above-cited laws, and will be severely visited upon all such offenders and representatives.

"At the same time, the aforesaid Chiefs and representatives understand, and it is a part of the Treaty, that the said English laws do not apply, and will not be applied to, or interfere with, the domestic and internal regulations of their Tribes and families, nor with their customs, in so far as these do not involve a breach of the above-cited laws.

"3. And the aforesaid Chiefs and representatives hereby promise and engage to send out immediately positive orders—and to cause them to be instantly and duly obeyed—for the recall of all parties of their respective families and dependants now engaged in predatory inroads upon the Colony, and to prevent all such predatory incursions for the future.

"4. And the aforesaid Chiefs and representatives hereby promise and engage to deliver up, without delay, into the hands of Colonel Smith, commanding his Britannic Majesty's troops in the province of Queen Adelaide, or to any officers whom he may appoint to receive them, all the muskets which may be in their possession.

"5. All the above well understood and performed,

the Governor, upon his part, in the name of his Majesty, promises to afford, in favour of the aforesaid Chiefs and representatives, their Tribes and families, all due protection and support, for the maintenance of their rights, their property, their security and welfare, equally with the other subjects of his Majesty.

"6. And the Governor, yielding to the earnest supplications of the aforesaid Chiefs and representatives, 'that they may not be expelled from their native country,' and in the hope that they may, for the future—as they have solemnly promised—keep peace and good order within, and abstain from all inroads and robberies without; the allotted boundary, hereby assigned to each of them, and their respective families, in fair and adequate proportions, according to the amount of population of each family, to be determined by the Commissioners hereafter set forth, for their location, establishment, and regulation of a tract of country bounded as follows:—

"On the West, from the Enwelena to the Irikazi, and thence along the mountains to the source of the Chumie River; thence down the left bank of the Chumie, to its confluence with the Keiskamma; thence up the right bank of the Keiskamma, to its confluence with the Deba; thence up the right bank of the latter to the Deba neck; thence within (to the north of) the road to the missionary station of Perrie; thence to the summit of the hill called Isidenge; thence down the bank of the Kabousie River to the Kye, with the reservation of such spots and lines for roads, 'outspann' places, places of worship, schools, magistracies, military stations, and other public services, as the

Governor may from time to time find it necessary to occupy, as well for the general benefit of the Colony, and for the particular benefit of the aforesaid Chiefs, their Tribes, and families.

"And reserving also a due and proper location, with adequate lands, to be determined by the aforesaid Commissioners, at and about Burns' Hill, for Suta and Sandilla and their family, and also a similar location and lands at and about the Chumie mission station for Matua and Tinta and their families.

"7. And each of the above Chiefs shall, in token of fealty to the King of England, and of acknowledgment of holding his lands under his majesty's sovereignty, cause to be delivered to such officer or officers as the Governor shall appoint on behalf of his majesty, *one fat ox*, in the course of the first month of every year; in the failure of which condition, he will forfeit his said lands, unless they be granted anew by the Governor, in the name of his majesty.

"8. Ministers of the gospel, schoolmasters, and, when necessary, English magistrates, or residents, will be duly appointed within the above locations. And it is hereby concluded and agreed on, by the said Chiefs and representatives, that they and the heads of families shall act as magistrates of the colony, each in his location, if required to do so by the Governor, and under such titles and to obey such instructions as shall by him be determined—and that they shall not harbour, or suffer to be harboured, within their respective locations, any person or persons, whether of their own Tribe or of others, whether English, Hottentot, Boers, or of any other nation, suspected or known to have

been guilty of any crime or offence against the Colony, but shall immediately secure and deliver up any such person or persons to the nearest Colonial authorities.

"9. And it is hereby further concluded and agreed on by the aforesaid Chiefs and representatives, and they alike promise and engage that they shall, without delay, communicate to the Colonial authorities any overtures made, or which hereafter may, at any time, be made to them, from any person or persons, whether within or without the Colony, tending to its prejudice or danger, and shall equally communicate, in like manner, any intelligence which may at any time come to their knowledge, of danger threatening the Colony from any quarter.

"10. And it is hereby further concluded and agreed on, by the aforesaid Chiefs and representatives, that they and the heads of families in their respective locations, shall all and each of them prevent, by every means in their power, inroads into the Colony, of robbers, to steal cattle or other property; and shall, moreover, in the case of any cattle or property so stolen being brought into their respective locations, secure and deliver it to the nearest Colonial authorities; be it well understood that the Governor will justly hold that Chief responsible for restoring Colonial cattle or other property, into whose location it shall have been traced.

"11. The Governor having appointed a Commission consisting of:—

"1. The Honourable Colonel Smith, C. B., Chief Commissioner.

"2. Lieutenant-Colonel England, 72nd Regiment.

"3. The Reverend W. Chalmers, Glasgow Mission, and

"4. Captain Stretch, Provisional Companies, 75th Regiment, for the location, establishment, and regulation of the aforesaid Chiefs, Tribes, and families; the said Commissioners (or a majority of them) are hereby duly authorized, so soon as they shall be reasonably satisfied that the 3rd and 4th conditions of this Treaty have been fairly complied with; to conclude and ratify it finally by their signatures, and to receive and record by endorsement upon this document the acceptance and agreement of the aforesaid Chiefs and representatives thereto; and then after, to locate and place each in possession of his allotted location, and within his appropriate boundary, accordingly.

"12. When all the above arrangements shall have been duly carried into effect, the Governor will appoint an agent for the Government, to reside among or near to the locations; with whom the Chiefs will communicate whenever they may desire it, for the information of the Governor, of whose communications to them he will also be the accredited organ.

"13. For the present, and until the Governor may judge it safe and beneficial, as well for the old Colonists as for these his Majesty's new subjects, hereby admitted under the protection of his Majesty's Government; none of these last, whether of the family of Gaika, or its connexions or dependants as aforesaid, can be allowed to cross the Chumie, or the Keiskamma Rivers, below its confluence with the former; or by any other way to enter the old Colonial border, without a pass signed by one of the above Commis-

sioners, or by the agent, when he shall have been appointed; and, even in that case, all persons so passing the boundary must be unarmed. A departure from this condition will expose the individuals infringing it to be shot, and its observance is, therefore, very strictly and earnestly enjoined.

"Given under my hand and seal at Fort Willshire, this 17th of September, 1835.

"(Signed) B. D'URBAN, Governor and
"Commander-in-Chief of the Colony of the
"Cape of Good Hope."

Similar treaties were afterwards ratified with the T'Slambie Tribes, and with Pato and his brothers, Cobus Congo and Kama.

Thus terminated the Kaffir war of 1835; and when it is considered that, for forty years previously to the conclusion of the above Treaty, during the whole course of our relations with the Kaffirs, we had always found them to be a most perfidious and faithless set of savages; ever disregarding all compacts, never hesitating to plunder the Colony whenever a favourable opportunity offered of so doing; and who, in spite of kindness, forbearance, and even of assistance on our part,[1] were ever ready to renew hostilities against us; when, moreover, only a few months before, they had — without any provocation, or even their usual declaration of war, and during a period of profound

[1] In 1828, we saved the Amakosa Kaffirs from certain destruction, when they were attacked by the Fetcani, who—as already shown—were then defeated by our troops under Colonel Somerset and Major Dundas.

security and peace—suddenly burst into the Colony, and therein carried murder, spoliation, and devastation to an unheard of extent; when all this is considered, it may seem matter of surprise that such easy terms as the above should have been granted to these "irreclaimable barbarians." And if this Treaty were not destined to meet with the entire approval of the home Government, the inference would naturally be, that censure had been incurred from its excessive leniency towards our enemies.

Far different, however, was the actual case. A minister so ignorant of the affairs of the Cape of Good Hope, as not even to know the actual limits of the Colony;[1] so blinded by prejudice or misled as to descend to listen to secret, underhand, disreputable, and anonymous[2] calumnies and insinuations against its gallant and veteran Governor, and the measures pursued by him: this minister pronounced his veto. The Kaffirs were considered[3] justified in their daring invasion; whilst the measures of retaliation then adopted were reprobated as aggressive.[4] Late and former acquisitions of territory, equally wrested from the savages in purely defensive warfare, were recklessly

[1] See Lord Glenelg's despatch of the 26th December, 1835. He therein orders the removal of all European and Hottentot Settlers from the *East* of the Fish River, whereby the town of Cradock and a considerable portion of that district and of Somerset would have been seceded. His lordship appears only to have found out this oversight on the 29th of March, 1836.

[2] In Parliamentary Correspondence, see Sir Benjamin d'Urban's letter to Lieutenant Governor Stockenstrom, dated August 1st, 1836.

[3] See Parliamentary Correspondence for 1835-6.

[4] See Appendix at the end of this volume.

given up; military posts were erected at enormous expense, and were as recklessly abandoned; and, to crown these imbecile measures with an act of the most glaring injustice, Sir Benjamin d'Urban was summarily recalled from the Government of the Cape of Good Hope![1]

[1] See, in Parliamentary Correspondence, Sir Benjamin d'Urban's letter of justification, addressed to Lord Glenelg, in which he most clearly rebuts all the injurious charges brought against him. Sir Benjamin d'Urban warned my Lord Glenelg of all the fatal consequences likely to accrue from the abandonment of the New Province of Adelaide, to which the latter replied that he was "perfectly ready to take on himself the sole and exclusive responsibility" of such a measure. Much, therefore, has his lordship to answer for!

CHAPTER XVII.

PORT ELIZABETH, AND THE BRITISH SETTLERS OF 1820.

Desolate appearance of the coast—Landing at Port Elizabeth —Encampment of Burghers—The Commandant—Mausoleum—Bullock waggons—Trip to Uitenhage—The "Bush" —Scarcity of game—Travelling in South Africa—English Settlers—Strange contrasts—The fine arts—Introduction of convicts at the Cape—Grievances of the Colonists—Arabic inscription—Sterile country—Sparmann—Le Vaillant and Barrow—Fort Frederick—Port Elizabeth—Population, and future prospects.

A stormy passage of three or four days brought us—as I before observed—to Port Elizabeth; where, during a strong south-easterly gale, we anchored in an open roadstead, a couple of miles from the shore, on which was then roaring a most terrific surf, casting a white cloud of spray for miles and miles, as far as the eye could reach, over the long line of sand-hills widely stretching to the eastward of the bay. To the west, the rocky dangers of Cape Receif were entirely hidden from the sight, by a still denser drifting shroud of scudding foam; and the straggling houses of Port Elizabeth, whilst indistinctly seen through the flying mist, seemed — in undisputed desolation — to extend along a bare, brown, and barren ledge, apparently—as seen from the anchorage—equally divested of trees or verdure of any kind.

This first view of Port Elizabeth was cheerless and desolate in the extreme; and, as in consequence of the state of the surf, there was no possibility of communicating with the shore; we had, whilst riding out the gale, full leisure to contemplate the dreary prospect before us. However, to our great satisfaction, a shift of wind took place during the night; a lull ensued; and the following morning we were able to land, though, even then, the waves broke furiously on the slightly indented, though open and exposed beach, so inaptly called a "bay."

As we approached the shore, the scattered remains of numerous wrecks were visible in every direction along the coast, and bore full evidence to the insecurity of this *soi-disant* "Port" Elizabeth, more especially during the summer months, when the south-easterly gales here mostly prevail. As soon as the large, high-sided boat which carried us over the crested billows had touched the sandy shore, crowds of stalwart Fingoes, in the easy garb of Nature—their finely-shaped, athletic forms, glistening like polished ebony under the influence of the flying spray—rushed fearlessly through the boiling surf, bore us aloft on their brawny shoulders, and safely deposited us on *terra firma*.

The following extracts from a letter written at the time will give an insight into our proceedings after this notable event:—

"Port Elizabeth, Monday evening, 12th October, 1846.

"Here we are at last safely landed; and thanks to a northerly wind, without getting drenched to the skin in crossing the surf; the boats for which purpose greatly resemble those at Madras, though on a much larger scale. We may consider ourselves fortunate in

having had favourable weather on this occasion, as only yesterday a couple of boats were stove, in making the attempt; and the first thing which greeted us when we placed our feet on dry land was the stranded remains of a wreck. As soon as our boat got through the surf, numbers of Fingoes rushed into the water, to carry us on shore; and, mounted on the shoulders of one of these 'gentlemen in black,' (as naked as he was born, except a few shreds of a soldier's old red jacket hanging about his back) and flourishing in mock triumph my 'toledo,' I was soon safely deposited on the beach of Port Elizabeth. You may remember the costume of the Catamaran-men, who used to come off to the shipping in the Madras Roads, as being very primitive; but I can assure you that the Fingoes, in this respect, beat them hollow. The dress of the latter is, in fact, perfectly indescribable to 'ears polite;' but the whole scene strongly reminded me of a landing in Massoolah boats, through the surf on the Coromandel coast.

"From the accounts we had heard at Cape Town, we expected to see starvation staring us in the face in every shape. The oxen, however, which dragged up our baggage from the beach, though not very sleek, might have been in much worse condition. The horses were not the walking skeletons we had been led to believe; and we found capital quarters at six shillings per diem, board and lodging included, at one of the 'hostelleries' of the place.

* * * *

"In strolling about, we met with an encampment of burghers, or Dutch farmers, who had lately been

engaged in the war. They have just been disbanded, (no one knows wherefore) and are to return to their homes at the Cape, by the 'Inflexible,' which leaves to-morrow. These quondam campaigners presented quite the appearance of a party of brigands. Their dress consisted of a shooting-jacket, 'crackers,' (or trowsers, made of tanned sheep's hide;) a large cow-horn suspended over their shoulder, to hold their powder; a musket, of most formidable dimensions; and a slouched white felt hat, in most instances surmounted by black ostrich plumes. All this, with their bronzed faces, well covered with beard and moustache, would have made them capital figures for the foreground of one of Salvator Rosa's pictures. They showed us some captured assegaïs, or Kaffir spears, talked loudly of their 'deeds of arms,' but expressed themselves discontented with their treatment by Government, and appeared delighted to return to their homes.

"Most of these men come from the districts contiguous to Cape Town. Dutch is their native language, but some of them spoke tolerable English. As to the good or bad policy of disbanding them at this particular juncture, together with the publicly expressed opinion of the manner in which this war has been conducted, I shall expatiate on, at some future period, when I have a little more knowledge of the real state of affairs. The sight of these piratical-looking fellows, however, reminded me strongly of my wild mountaineers in Syria, and made me long to have a fling at the Kaffirs with a few hundred of them under my command—for which purpose, we understood that the 'seven staff officers' were sent out on this 'particular service.'

"I next went to pay my respects to the Commandant of Port Elizabeth, and a more extraordinary-looking old gentleman you scarcely ever beheld. He was seated on an open terrace overlooking the bay. His dress consisted of a 'shocking bad' old straw hat, an old blue frock coat with large scales, a shooting waistcoat, corduroy trowsers, and a pair of shoes well down at the heel. He appeared upwards of seventy, was very corpulent, and apologized for not rising to receive us, owing to his infirmities; which apology was of course readily admitted. This old veteran has filled the post he still occupies, for thirty-three years, and appeared not a little impressed with the importance of his situation. After a long chat, I made my salaam, and went to inspect a most conspicuous object on a neighbouring height, in the shape of a pyramid, which overlooks the town, and was erected in 1820, by Sir Rufane Donkin, to the memory of his deceased wife.

"Lady Donkin's christian name was Elizabeth, and hence the town—which was built at the period (1820) when a large emigration took place from England—derives its name; and did it only possess a more secure anchorage, it would probably in a few years be a station of some consequence. As it is, it contains, I should think, between three and four thousand inhabitants of one kind or another. The original Settlers of 1820, by whom Port Elizabeth may be said to have been founded—for previously there existed only a few hovels on its present site—were all English; but the Dutch language appears to be as much spoken; whilst in the manner and demeanour of the inha-

bitants there is a sort of flippant independence of expression, which—though probably the natural effect of prosperous circumstances on persons of originally not a very elevated sphere in life—grates rather harshly on our more refined ideas of social intercourse.

"I have been informed—I know not how justly—that this prosperity, and the fortunes that have been realized, are in some instances not entirely from successful trading or farming, but (more especially on the frontier) from the contraband traffic in powder and muskets, which has long been carried on with the Kaffir Tribes, and which has enabled the latter to assume the formidable position which they now hold. This trade, however, has I understand lately—and very justly so—been made a capital offence, even punishable by death.

"We have at our hotel a sort of table-d'hôte dinner, composed of a strange medley—skippers of coasting vessels, merchants, chiefs of disbanded Burgher and Fingoe levies—in short, quite an 'omnium gatherum,' which, though not particularly select, is very amusing; and from whence we pick up a great deal of information (true or false) about the Kaffirs and Kaffir war; but this is always received with due allowance for the source from whence it flows.

"By what I can collect, the Kaffirs appear not to be the irrational savages which we have been led to consider them, but show the greatest tact and management in the manner of conducting their warlike operations; telegraphing by means of signal fires, by which their advances and retreats are regulated; and, although always avoiding to meet us openly in the field, concerting their measures so well, as to give us an

infinity of trouble; and hitherto, unavailing fatigue and exertion.

"Thursday evening, October 15th. We are still here, waiting for waggons to take our convoy to Graham's Town, which—we are assured—will be ready by Saturday, when we shall make a very formidable party; as, independently of the means of transport for the treasure, supplies, &c., every field officer is allowed a waggon for his baggage; and, as each of these is drawn by sixteen oxen, two abreast—the vehicles following each other in single file—you may easily fancy the length of such a procession.

"I am convinced this 'waggon system,' affecting as it does the commissariat and every military movement, is one of the chief causes of all the delays and mishaps that have marked the progress of this unfortunate war. Infinite time would be saved, if, instead of these unwieldy masses, pack oxen were employed to carry the supplies, &c.; or, what would be still better, if a number of camels were imported from the Cape de Verds, as they would fatten on the jungle plants, when oxen starve; be fifty per cent. more expeditious, and besides, seldom feel that want of water, which has lately destroyed so many thousand bullocks. Moreover, I see nothing to prevent the elephants with which the interior abounds from being domesticated, and employed as in India. In the dense thickets where we have to act, they might be of the greatest use, and serve to hunt the Kaffirs out of the 'Bush,' as they do tigers in the Indian jungle. In short, it is here pretty generally the opinion, that these brigands should be treated like wild beasts, even to the employ-

ment of blood-hounds in tracking them to their lairs; though I dare say such doctrines would shock the Exeter Hall gentry. But, by all accounts, it would be the only way of getting them out of their impenetrable retreat—the 'Bush'; as the thick and thorny jungle covering the country is here called.

"I yesterday went to a small town called Uitenhage,[1] (vide Wylde's map of Southern Africa) about twenty miles from this place, and the road ran partly through the 'Bush,' which has enabled us to form some idea of the difficulties to be contended with, during the course of warfare with the Kaffirs; whilst to them it is all plain sailing, as they either creep under the branches like snakes; or, using their 'kaross,' or cloak of hides, as a shield, dart through the thorns, which the extraordinary thickness of their skins enables them, moreover, to set at defiance. Yesterday, a beautiful spring morning (of this southern hemisphere), saw Colonel ——, myself, and the leader of a small Burgher band, start off, mounted on very sorry hacks, for the said exploring expedition to Uitenhage.

"The first ten miles of our journey lay over a fine open country, looking beautifully green from the effect of the late rains. We cantered merrily along, until we reached a stream called the Zwartkops. There we came to a Fingoe kraal, or small assemblage of huts, near an enclosure surrounded with thorns, to keep in the cattle at night. The inhabitants of these

[1] This place, I believe, derives its appellation from the family estate of the Dutch Commissioner, De Mist, who made an official visit to this part of the country towards the close of last century.

wretched hovels understood a little Dutch, and our German was of use in ascertaining the position of the ford. On crossing the river, we fairly entered the 'Bush,' which, by means of a tolerable road, was here divested of all its difficulties. But I never could have imagined anything so completely impervious as the thicket on each side, composed of mimosa and other thorny and to us unknown bushes, intermixed with aloes, euphorbia, and various milky and fat succulent plants springing up among them; whilst the ground beneath was thickly covered with creepers, and all sorts of bulbs and brilliant wild flowers.

"A few hours' ride brought us to Uitenhage; and a prettier little town, or, perhaps, more correctly speaking, 'village,' I never beheld. A clear brook runs through the principal street, bordered by oaks, now in full foliage; and every house has a small garden in front, surrounded by hedges of rose-bushes, and overshadowed with fine orange trees. We went to a neat little country inn, kept by a Dutchman, of the name of Lingenfelder; had a capital Table d'Hôte dinner; and, after strolling about and looking at some horses, or rather skeletons of horses, which were for sale, but did not pass muster, we started on our return, about three o'clock. Shortly after passing the residence of General Cuyler—an old retired officer who has been settled in the Colony for nearly half a century—by some mismanagement, we lost our way, and got entangled in the 'Bush,' had great difficulty in again discovering our road, and did not get back to Port Elizabeth till long after dark, our horses being completely done up. Nor will you be surprised at this, when you

hear that the animal I rode, during these long forty miles, had not a shoe to his feet, and was taken in the morning from grazing off a common!

"What struck me as one of the peculiarities here, is the total neglect of any sort of precaution taken against the Kaffirs. We stumbled on one or two farm-houses, perfectly open, and as unprotected as if they had been situated in some peaceful English glen.

"I got only two shots during our ride, one at some wild ducks, the other at a hare; both of which I missed. We were much disappointed in our anticipations of finding quantities of every sort of game. But the times of Le Vaillant and Barrow are now gone by. Every vestige of the forests they mention, as standing on the present neighbourhood of Port Elizabeth, have long since disappeared; and the sportsman must now go far into the interior to get a shot at an elephant, or rhinoceros; to kill even an eland, or a spring buck.

"On leaving England, we all laid the flattering unction to our souls, that the Kaffir war would be short, sharp, and soon at an end. But I fear, from the dilatory nature of its proceedings, that we are doomed to be sadly disappointed in this respect. The great difficulty appears now, to be the landing of stores at Waterloo Bay, and their subsequent transport to the scene of operations.

"These delays are nevertheless likely in this case to be for the best; and however vexatious, are all in our favour, as it will enable us to make a fair start with the others. I only wish that our horses were come round from the Cape; as Colonel Montresor, Major Wetenhall, and myself will be obliged to wait

their arrival, instead of starting with the rest of the party on the ensuing march. This we all anticipate will be a regular 'pic-nic' until we get to Graham's Town, one hundred miles off; which distance, with waggon-travelling, it will take us no less than nine or ten days to accomplish. Such is the general nature of our expeditious movements in this part of the world!

"Saturday, 17th October—4 o'clock P. M.—'Fortuna favet fortibus," which means that good fellows are always lucky, or ought to be so. The 'Herald' of our hopes (the vessel in which we despatched our horses from Cape Town) has arrived just in the nick of time. Our chargers safe and sound, in beautiful condition, will be landed to-morrow. Our large waggon-convoy, which ought to have been off this morning at seven o'clock, has just started (four in the afternoon;) and this specimen of colonial activity will enable us easily to overtake them to-morrow; as to-night they halt two or three miles out of the town.

"We (the owners of the horses) are in high glee at having been so far fortunate; as, instead of a solitary ride of one hundred miles, without tents or baggage, to say nothing of the chance of being assegaïed by Kaffirs, we have now the prospect of a most delightful pleasure party for the next ten days, to Graham's Town;—shooting the whole way (for there is *said* to be lots of game of every kind), having all we require about us, and sleeping comfortably in our tents or waggons, with abundant supplies at hand; for however inefficient for military purposes these unwieldy vehicles may be, they—from all accounts—appear well adapted for slow and easy travelling.

"Picture to yourself a long, strongly-built wooden machine, roofed in with a canvass waterproof covering, mounted on four wheels, but without springs—capacious enough to contain bedding, cooking utensils, baggage, guns, &c.;—in short, a small house drawn by sixteen oxen, where you may rest by day, and sleep comfortably in every weather during the night; carrying moreover a tent, if required, and forage for your horses, with provisions for yourself and attendants; and you have a true representation of my proposed travelling abode—a colonial waggon, with all its accessories."

* * * *

The English Settlers here present a strange mixture of upstart independence—of a flippant, bustling, "go-ahead" spirit of industry; occasionally mingled with the greatest apathy and neglect of the common comforts and conveniences of life, while paying an undue regard to other superfluities.

I shall now endeavour to illustrate what I here advance. Being in quest of a pony to carry baggage, &c., I was recommended to apply to a person residing at some little distance from the town, who had one for sale. A lowly cottage, situated on a bare and barren extent of table-land, was pointed out to me as the abode of the party I was in search of. Unlike a residence of a similar description in England, no neat garden-plot surrounded the house; no woodbine or honeysuckle entwined its porch. There stood not near it a single tree, to afford friendly shelter from the rays of the scorching sun, or the keen blasts of the south-easterly wind. Yet this forlorn and cheerless state of things

apparently arose neither from poverty or want; for sheep and cattle were grazing around, up to the very threshold of the door. A substantial waggon occupied a neighbouring open and dilapidated shed; but, on entering this uninviting-looking mansion, I was surprised by the sound of music, to the words of "Home, sweet home;" and to see a rather gaudily-dressed young woman industriously thumping the keys of an antediluvian-looking pianoforte; offering a strong contrast to the appearance of her respected mother, who, probably interrupted in some important household occupation, abruptly, and apparently in none of the best of humours, asked me what business brought me there?

Having made a suitable reply, I was as brusquely informed, that if I wanted to purchase the "skimmel" (roan), I must return in the evening, when the animal in question came back from its pasturing-ground, as she could not be at the trouble of sending for it; saying which, she turned about and left the room.

The young lady was more polite. Apologizing for her mother—who, she said, had a great deal to do, and was much worried in consequence of the absence of their Hottentot attendant, who had been now three days drunk at the canteen, whilst their Fingoe "help" had taken herself off, without leave, to some Missionary Station or other in the neighbourhood — she invited me to be seated; I instantly complied, requesting, at the same time, I might not interrupt her; as, being very fond of music, I should feel much pleasure in hearing her continue the tune. Nothing abashed, the damsel good-naturedly acceded to my

wishes; and, not being much of a judge, I felt little scruple in complimenting her on her performance.

"That delightful air," observed I, "which you have sung with such taste and feeling, must recall the scenes of your childhood, and make you anxious to return home, where your elegant accomplishments and pursuits would be so much more appreciated than they possibly can be in this out-of-the-way part of the world.—Would you not like," added I, "to go back to England?"—"La! no, sir; this is my home—I was born here; and though mother often wishes to get back to the old place, I have no wish to stir. Father is gone to England on business, and promised to bring me back a new piany, as this old thing—which we bought cheap from some of the poor Dutch[1] who emigrated beyond the Orange—is nearly worn out, and my music-master says I ought to have a new one."[2]

Seeing on the table some wretched daubs of flowers in water-colours, I asked my fair acquaintance if they were her performance. "No, sir," replied she, "but I

[1] "In other cases, they (the emigrant Boers) disposed of valuable farms for the new gun or waggon, or some such consideration, offered to them in their misery by the rapacious speculators on the temper of mind into which this state of things had driven their victims."—*From "The Cape and its Colonists," by Nicholson* (1848).

[2] This mania of the present generation, for educating their children in a manner quite unsuited to the sphere of life in which they are intended to move, prevails not in our Colonies alone. How many an honest yeoman's or farmer's daughter may now be seen occupied as above described, whose mother's greatest pride was her proficiency in the—to her—more useful accomplishment of manufacturing butter and cheese, home-made wine, or an occasional apple dumpling!

am *so* fond of flowers!"—"There appear," I observed, "to be many beautiful flowers and plants growing wild, in the neighbourhood of Port Elizabeth: I wonder you do not try to lay out a little plot of them in front of the house."—"It would indeed be pretty, and I have often thought of it, but Klaas (our Totty) is always drunk or asleep, when disengaged. We cannot get another servant, for the missionaries always decoy them away, and set them up against their masters—and brother Jem likes better to go and look after a buck with his gun, than be gardening. Besides, as he says, what is the use of taking any trouble, when the Kaffirs will most likely come again and destroy all, as soon as the war is over? But here comes brother Jem, who will tell you all about the skimmel which belongs to him."

* * * *

Brother Jem was a well-grown lad of some thirteen or fourteen years of age, who appeared to be a dull boy in everything else, but showed a wonderful precocity and aptness in coming to a "deal" in horse-flesh. It was agreed that next day I should have a trial of the pony, with which being satisfied, I concluded the purchase, and the "skimmel" was duly transferred to my possession.

The above conversation with Jem's accomplished sister may afford some notion of the general state of feeling and opinions of the English Settlers of this class and description, in the eastern province. But undoubtedly among the Colonists are also to be found men of first-rate talents and education; and likewise hard-working laborious people, who remain contentedly

in the sphere of life in which they have been born and brought up.

Several of the Settlers of 1820 were persons of means and respectability. These, generally speaking, entered into speculations and were ruined; while others, of a far inferior class—some of whom landed without shoes or stockings—from small beginnings, by their personal exertions, rapidly realized considerable property; and are at this moment to be seen, driving handsome equipages at Graham's Town!

It is true that many of these successful adventurers suffered severely from the inadequate protection afforded by Government, against the constantly renewed depredations of the Native Tribes, and that others were completely ruined by the desolating Kaffir irruption of 1834, and *re*-ruined by the last war. Nevertheless, a few have managed to turn both these events to good account; and, by supplying the troops and Commissariat (and as it has been hinted with respect to *some*, by the suspected illegal and infamous transaction of selling arms and gunpowder to the Kaffirs) have succeeded in realizing the most rapid fortunes.

There can be no doubt but that people of this description might turn this newly-acquired wealth to better account, than by bringing up their children in a manner so totally at variance with their former mode of life. Still, it must be allowed, that they have an undoubted right to make whatever use they please, of property they have honestly acquired by industry and labour. Nor can it be denied, that my lately-mentioned fair musical acquaintance might possibly have then been engaged in less praiseworthy occupations

than playing on the pianoforte and admiring flowers, had her parents—instead of emigrating to a land of plenty—remained in a state of destitution and penury, perhaps about the purlieus of London—in one of our over-populated manufacturing towns—or starving agricultural districts. Far, however, be it from my intention here to insinuate that the accomplished Angelica Seraphina—(for she no doubt answered to some such harmonious appellation) far be it from me to hint, that *she* derived her origin from such ignoble sources; the foregoing remarks applying generally—not personally—to the English Settlers on the eastern frontier; and chiefly to such as those above alluded to, who having brought with them nothing save their "wallets," commit, with these newly-acquired riches, some occasional freaks, which under existing circumstances may perhaps be considered as very pardonable.

No one can justly condemn the praiseworthy efforts of honest and industrious poverty to raise itself to eminence and wealth. Indigence and Worth may assuredly go hand in hand—and long may Southern Africa prove a land of promise to the destitute multitudes of an overcrowded population! But, while we thus thin our poor-houses and manufacturing districts—in the name of decency and justice, pollute not the stream of emigration with the refuse of the nation—the filth of our hulks, and the sweepings of our jails!

Setting aside the pending question of sending convicts to the Cape, great and just cause have the British Settlers of the Eastern Province to complain of the treatment they have already experienced at the hands of that Government, which first held out every encourage-

ment for emigration to this distant part of the world,[1] and then abandoned them without protection, to be destroyed and plundered by the surrounding savage Tribes; many are besides the well founded grievances they have long patiently suffered and submitted to. Detracted and calumniated by a set of low, ignorant, and interested adventurers, who—under the mask of sanctity, but for selfish purposes of their own—long continued to injure them in the opinion of the world; the Colonists of the eastern province—and generally speaking of the Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope—have in vain made repeated petitions to the British Government; urgently, though respectfully, setting forth the grievances by which they have been oppressed; grievances under the weight of which they have often been nearly overwhelmed. It is however the last ounce which breaks the back of the most patient of animals—and if this last pressure be applied in the shape of importations of convicted felons, (that recent promising scheme of the Colonial minister of the day) the most fatal consequences may ensue. Repeated injustice and ill-treatment drove thousands of Dutch Boers across the frontier—repeated injustice and ill-treatment may, in like manner, drive thousands of British Settlers to follow their footsteps and example. What then—it may be asked—would become of our *Colony* of the Cape of Good Hope? * * * *

The impression caused by the desolate appearance of that part of the coast on which stands Port Eliza-

[1] The sum of £50,000 was granted by Act of Parliament, towards defraying the expenses of the four thousand British emigrants, who landed at Algoa Bay in 1820.

beth—an appearance of barren sterility which had so forcibly struck us while still at anchor in the Bay—was not removed on a nearer approach. The town, or rather long straggling line of houses of which it consists, stands on a narrow slip of land between the sea and the steep side of a bare and elevated ridge; which, commencing at the Baaken River, runs eastward for a short distance, parallel to the shore.

The entrance of this small stream—like many others on this coast—is completely closed by a bar of sand; which damming up the mouth of the river, thus forms a beautiful little inland lake, the only picturesque object for miles around. On one side of this smooth, clear sheet of water—strongly contrasted with the boiling surf from which it is only separated by a narrow belt of beach—abruptly rises a high, precipitous ledge of rock. Above this peers "Fort Frederick," a small military work commanding the town and the opposite bank, here gently shelving towards the lake, and thickly covered with flowering plumbagoes and various kinds of dark evergreen shrubs.

This peaceful spot has been most appropriately fixed upon for the burial-ground of the place. Whilst wandering amidst these humble abodes of the departed, I was attracted by the peculiar shape of some of the tombs, in a remote corner of this wild and secluded dell. I recognised the Oriental form of the upright tablets, each standing amidst a small parterre of flowering plants; and approaching nearer, was not a little surprised to behold inscriptions in those well-known Arabic characters, so familiar to the eye of the Eastern traveller.

Although these baffled my small remaining stock of Oriental lore, the more learned reader may perchance be able to decipher the same, from the copy here annexed. In the event however of his proving as unsuccessful as myself, let him refer to the accompanying translation;[1] I may add, that this mysterious locality is a place of burial of the Malays—recent importations from the western provinces and from Cape Town[2]—whilst the inscription in question is extracted from the holy Khoran.

The valley of the Baaken, through which flows the stream of that name, gradually narrows as you ascend its course, and presents the only signs of verdure to be seen for miles and miles, amidst the arid sand-hills, brown, barren heaths, and bare stony tracts surrounding the town of Port Elizabeth. In this sterile region, naught is to be seen of those tall luxuriant shrubs,

[1] The Author has been most obligingly favoured by N. Bland, Esq., of the Royal Asiatic Society, with the following translation of this inscription; and begs also to acknowledge the courtesy of R. Clarke, Esq., the Secretary to that learned Institution:

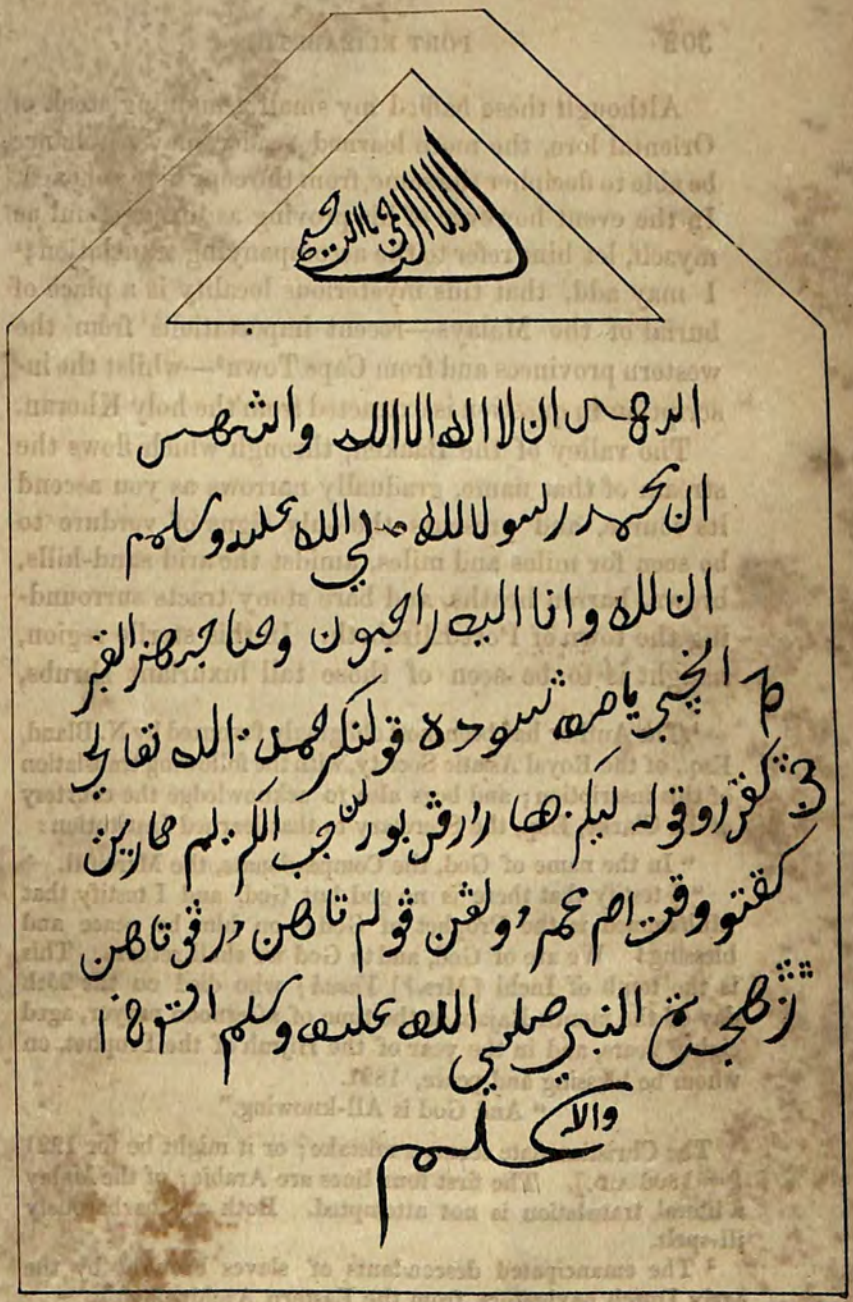
"In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

"I testify that there is no god but God, and I testify that Muhammed is the Prophet of God; on him be peace and blessing! We are of God, and to God we shall return. This is the tomb of Inchi [Mrs.?] *Yasah;* who died on the 25th day of the month Rajab, at the time of afternoon prayer, aged eighty years, and in the year of the Hijrah of the Prophet, on whom be blessing and peace, 1821.

"And God is All-knowing."

The Christian date seems a mistake; or it might be for 1221 [= 1806 A.D.]. The first four lines are Arabic; of the Malay a literal translation is not attempted. Both are barbarously ill-spelt.

[2] The emancipated descendants of slaves brought by the early Dutch navigators, from the Eastern Archipelago.



Inscription on a Malay Tomb, at Algoa Bay.

flowering proteas, graceful silver trees, spreading oaks, and waving pines, which so beautify the neighbourhood of the Cape; a few dwarfish aloes—small, round, prickly euphorbia, (the euphorbium meloformis) or stunted milk plants—mere excrescences, more than ornaments of nature—were all we met with during our rambles over the adjoining country; whose productions, if we may judge from the description of former authors, have completely changed within the last sixty or seventy years.

Sparmann, who visited this locality about 1772—when it appears to have been quite unoccupied either by the Dutch, or by natives of any description—mentions it as abounding with "wood and fresh water;" and after alluding to the dangers of the coast, and the wreck of the "Doddington" East Indiaman, in Algoa Bay, states that it was not then frequented by shipping of any kind.

Le Vaillant, who was here a few years subsequently to Sparmann, (in 1782) describes the neighbouring country as thickly covered with forests of lofty trees, well stocked with game; and as the scene of several of his successful encounters with elephants and wild buffaloes, which then apparently abounded here.

"This Bay," says he, "is one of those places where Government ought to establish warehouses and repositories for timber; the forests everywhere around are magnificent, and they could more easily be cut down than anywhere else."

Barrow was at Algoa Bay in 1797, and confirms the above accounts; gives a long list of the various trees of which the forests were composed, and—although admitting the insecurity of the anchorage—even suggests the possibility of forming a Settlement—strange

to say—on the very spot now occupied by Port Elizabeth. "Close to the landing-place," says he, "there is a copious spring of excellent water at the extremity of a narrow slip of land, hemmed in between a ridge of sand-hills on one side, and by a sudden rise of the country, on the other. This slip is about four thousand feet long, by five hundred in width. It is composed of excellent soil, has a gentle slope to the shore of the Bay, and is the prettiest situation for a small fishing-village that could possibly be imagined."[1]

At the period to which this refers, there seems to have been no vestige of habitation, or European occupation of any sort at Algoa Bay; though the disturbances which shortly after took place among the Dutch Boers in the neighbouring district of Graaf-Reynet caused several vessels from the Cape to anchor in its roads; "but," says Barrow, "scarcely one escaped accidents happening to their boats in attempting to land, almost a perpetual swell rolling upon the sandy beach. Being however so conveniently situated for an enemy to communicate with the rebellious Boers of Graaf-Reynet, and equally so with the Kaffirs, General Dundas[2] thought it advisable to station at the Bay a few troops, and to erect a small block-house for their protection. It was indeed surprising that none of the enemy's cruisers from the Isle of France thought of attacking this valuable and hitherto defenceless spot, so distant from the Cape that much mischief might have been effected long before the Government could have received information of it."

[1] See Appendix at the end of the volume.

[2] Who succeeded Lord Macartney as Governor of the Cape.

The possibility of such a contingency was proved one evening, by the appearance in the Bay of the French frigate "La Preneuse." A British sloop of war, the "Rattlesnake," happened however to be anchored there at the time; and after an engagement, which lasted during a great part of the night, the Rattlesnake—having suffered considerable damage and lost several men—obliged its formidable antagonist to slip her cable and put out to sea.

This event decided General Dundas upon adding to the defences of the place a small work—still known as "Fort Frederick"—commanding Algoa Bay; which, on being converted into a military station, became an occasional resort of the few Boers, whose widely-scattered and distant farm-houses were spread over the surrounding country.

The new Settlement at Algoa Bay appears however to have made little progress until the year 1820; for, on the arrival at that period of the English emigrants, who, to the number of four thousand, were sent out at the expense of Government to this part of the world, "the only buildings were the fort just alluded to, a small barrack, a mess-house, the Commandant's quarters, and a few temporary huts of perishable materials, beside the original farm-house belonging to a Boer, of the name of Hartman. The population was about thirty-five souls, and its trade confined to the occasional visit of a coasting vessel, with long intervals between each voyage, bringing in exchange for butter, a few groceries and clothing, and supplies for the military."[1]

[1] From Chase's Cape of Good Hope, p. 58.

Whilst many of the Settlers of 1820 were—contrary to their expectations—sent on to the frontier, part of their number were allowed to locate themselves at Algoa Bay, where the present town soon sprung up, which, as already related, then received the appellation of "Port Elizabeth." It consists of a long, straggling street, running upwards of a mile in extent, close to, and parallel with the shore of the Bay, and is said now to contain a population of between three and four thousand inhabitants. Though boasting of several public buildings—its Episcopalian church, dissenting chapels, Exchange, &c.—it is, at best, what in England would be considered a large, dirty, fishing village. Nor is it likely to rise above its present condition; for—whatever has been stated to the contrary by parties who are evidently interested in making such assertions—Algoa Bay presents so little security to shipping, (as testified by the numerous wrecks which to this day disfigure its shores) that, if the anchorage at the Buffaloe mouth be found on experience to answer present expectations, the port which has been there recently established will, in all probability, soon throw "Little Elizabeth" completely into the shade.

It has often been remarked, that, although the British colonies extend over nearly the whole surface of the globe, there exists no people so remiss as our countrymen, in embellishing and improving the land of their adoption. When the French, the Dutch, the Spaniards, or the Portuguese, establish a colony, the Settlers belonging to those respective nations appear to consider such a new home; which, for their own sake, as well as that of their children, it behoves them

to improve and beautify to the utmost of their power; and success generally rewards their exertions.

An Englishman, on the other hand—with whatever contrary determination he may have expatriated himself—appears never to regard himself as permanently settled, out of his own country; his thoughts seem ever reverting to a return thither at some future period, whenever successful speculation shall have afforded him the means of so doing. Hence the unfinished appearance of all our Colonial dependencies, as compared with those of other nations.

Ere the Dutch had been a quarter of a century at the Cape, substantial houses and forts were erected; promenades, gardens, and pleasure-grounds, laid out; and every European fruit, grain, plant, or tree; both useful and ornamental—which on trial was found to succeed—had, without loss of time, been brought out to the Colony, and assiduously cultivated.

No stronger contrast can be afforded to these proceedings, than that exhibited by the actual condition of Port Elizabeth. Although nearly thirty years have now elapsed since it rose from its humble origin—and although it at present contains so large a population, the greater portion of whom will probably spend here the remainder of their existence—not a single step appears as yet to have been taken towards the adornment or embellishment of the spot, any more than if it were a mere temporary camp, to be struck on the morrow! Its long unconnected street is still unpaved, unmacadamized, and encumbered with large stones and rubbish of every description. Though possessing a most favourable climate and soil, where everything will grow, if

only put into the ground, not a vineyard or garden has yet been laid out—no vestige of plantation, or of a public walk, is yet to be seen. Though formerly noted for its magnificent forests, the surrounding country—instead of being like the vicinity of Cape Town, shaded by the pine, the oak, the aspen, and poplar—presents the appearance of a barren wilderness, with naught to relieve the eye, save those unsightly excrescences—the numerous anthills;[1] or the equally unsightly hovels of the Fingoes, who are thickly located in its vicinity.

Leaving a further account of Port Elizabeth and its inhabitants to the pen of Mr. Centlivres Chase, who—though perhaps blinded by partiality to some of the local defects—gives a most graphic account of the Settlers of 1820;[2] I shall now direct the uninitiated reader's attention to the last mentioned race of natives—the Fingoes; a tribe, whose numbers and importance are daily increasing within the limits of the Colonial boundary.

[1] In Southern Africa, the mounds raised by this insect to a considerable height often form a prominent feature in the landscape: the "Aard vaark," or ant-eater, burrows into, and undermines these hillocks, thus rendering them dangerous pitfalls to the unwary horseman.

[2] "The Cape of Good Hope, and the Eastern Province of Algoa Bay," by John Centlivres Chase. London, 1843.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FINGOES.

Wars of Chakah—General destruction—The Mantattees and Fetcani—The Fingoes—An account of this people—Massacre by the Kaffirs—A hint on the subject—Hintza's reply—Fingoes liberated by Sir B. d'Urban—His communication to Lord Glenelg—Fingoes located in the Colony—Sir George Napier—Settlement of the Zitzikamma—Fingoe Women—Appearance of a Fingoe Warrior—Fingoe Kraals—Dance by moonlight—Their increasing numbers.

Nearly half a century ago, whilst Europe was overrun and convulsed by the restless ambition of one man, similar scenes of destruction—resulting from the same cause, attended with fully as great a loss of human life, and a greater extent of human misery—were likewise being enacted in the remote and nearly unknown region of South-Eastern Africa; for, whilst Napoleon played the conqueror in the regions of civilization, Chakah, the redoubted Zoolah chief, was the great Napoleon of barbarism, among the swarthy nations of the Southern hemisphere.

Chakah's sanguinary wars not only destroyed or expatriated whole Tribes and Nations contiguous to his own territories, but those hordes, which escaped from the effects of his desolating wrath, overran, in their flight, remoter districts—inflicting the miseries they had themselves experienced—sometimes driven back in

these compulsory invasions; at others more successful, defeating and chasing before them clouds of fugitives; till, by these means, immense tracts of country became eventually depopulated: Famine stalked gauntly o'er the land—Cannibalism oft following closely in its wake![1]

On only two occasions, during the long period of their destructive wanderings, did any of these locust flights of barbarians approach the boundary of our Colonial possessions. The first instance of such an occurrence was in the case of the Mantattees; who, in 1823, after overrunning the country to the north of the Orange River, were stopped in their progress and defeated—as I have already shown—with great slaughter, by the Griquas, under the direction of Waterboer, their brave and enterprising chief.

Five years subsequently to this, the Amakosæ Kaffirs implored our protection against the Fetcani, another horde of barbarians, who, under similar circumstances, had entered their country. Policy, as well as humanity, prompted us to listen to their prayer: the Fetcani—as before related—were defeated by our troops; and whilst the Kaffirs destroyed immense numbers of fugitives, the survivors escaped beyond the Stormberg Mountains.

It appears, however, that during some period of these general commotions in South-Eastern Africa—which originated, as has been remarked, in the sanguinary and destructive proceedings of the Zoolahs, under the dreaded Chakah—the last remnants of a few scattered Tribes from the far interior, entered as

[1] See Sir Cornwallis Harris' Travels in Southern Africa; also Thompson's Travels in the same part of the world.

suppliants the country of the Amakosæ; where, at the period of Sir Benjamin d'Urban's invasion of Kaffir-land, in 1835, they were found in the most abject state of slavery, and stigmatized by the Kaffirs with the opprobrious epithet of "Fingoes;" meaning "Pariahs" —outcasts, or wanderers.

The only written account I have been able to obtain of a people who now form so considerable a portion of the population of the Eastern Province, is the following one, contained in Godlonton's "Kaffir Irruption of 1834:"—

"The Fingoes are the remnants of eight powerful Nations, which have been destroyed, or driven out of their country, by the destructive wars carried on amongst the natives of the interior. Five of these Nations were destroyed by the cruel Matiwana, and the rest by the notorious Zoolah chief, Chaka, or some of the Tribes tributary to him. The names of these Nations were—

"1st. The Amahlubi, signifying, in the native dialect, a people who tear, or pull off.

"2nd. The Amazeze, or people who bring. These people are the remains of a very powerful Nation, which, thirteen or fourteen years ago, inhabited the country on the north-east of Natal.

"3rd. The Amabele, or people of mercy.

"4th. The Amayabezembi, or axe-benders.

"5th. The Abasekunene, or right-hand people.

"6th. The Amantozakwe, or people whose things are their own.

"7th. The Amarelidwani. There appears to be no definite meaning for this appellation.

"8th. The Abashwawo, or people that revile, or reproach.

"These Nations being broken up and dispersed in the surrounding country, many of the people who escaped fled from time to time to the westward, and thus came into collision with the Amakosæ Kaffirs, but principally with the Tribes of the late Hintza. Here they were received by that chief and his people, as entirely dependant on their mercy and generosity; and they were suffered to exist on the tenure of the most abject slavery. Their general employments were herding cattle, hewing wood, and drawing water. They were also compelled to cultivate the ground for their cruel taskmasters. But this did not satisfy them; for when, by extraordinary exertions, they had obtained, by the sale of any little surplus produce beyond that required for their own use, a few head of cattle, they were either forcibly taken from them; or they were charged with the crime of witchcraft, their bodies put to the torture, and their little property confiscated. From their poverty and utter friendlessness, they were also very frequently made the victims of the cruel superstitions of the land. Thus, when sickness prevailed, at a time of universal drought, when wolves or other beasts of prey visited the kraals; and even when the gardens and fields of their masters were plundered by baboons and monkeys; they were charged with causing the evil, by some occult skill which it was pretended, nay, believed, by them to be possessed; and they were ultimately tortured, and sometimes murdered, by their tormentors. In short, their lives and property were held on the same precarious tenure—

the mere will of their capricious, cruel, and avaricious taskmasters; even their children were forcibly taken from them, especially females, who were often forced from their parents at a very tender age, for the most odious purposes.

"From information since derived, respecting the history of this people, it appears that the term 'Fingo' is not their national appellation, but a reproachful epithet, denoting extreme poverty and misery, a person having no claim to justice, mercy, or even to life: hence the British trader, Eccles, who resided in the tribe of Hintza, at the time of the Kaffir irruption, having endured the greatest possible suffering, been repeatedly threatened with death, and that nearly caused by excessive fatigue and hunger, was at length subjected to be treated as a Fingo, being compelled to stand at the door of the Calf kraal, with no other clothing than a shirt, to turn out the calves at the call of the Kaffir boys, while they were milking the cows, just brought from the Colony, and known by the brand mark to be Colonial property. This man, while thus employed, was called, by the people of the place, the 'white Fingo;' so that, while the poor trader was thus degraded, he was subject to the mortification of hearing the people call to passengers, saying, 'See our white Fingo.'"

From so miserable a condition a large portion of this enslaved and oppressed nation was humanely rescued by Sir Benjamin d'Urban, who, in his admirable letter of justification to Lord Glenelg, thus alludes to that circumstance:—

"I might also perhaps have reasonably hoped that

my having freed a grievously-oppressed race of fifteen thousand souls from slavery would have been regarded by your Lordship with some complacency."

The above, like Sir Benjamin's other measures, was however met with unqualified disapprobation; though he most aptly remarks, that this emancipation from slavery (not on a very small scale) had the advantage of being effected at the expense of the enemy; whilst the liberation of slaves which had taken place in the British Colonies was done at "that of the nation and of their owners."

Thus had this great and good man the satisfaction of relieving, from a wretched state of existence, thousands of his fellow-creatures; but he received no credit for so humane an action; whilst those unavailing attempts at conversion of the miserable adventurers who have so long preyed on British credulity, are, by the "religious British public," still loudly extolled to the very skies! "Shall we never," says an observant author, "have done with this canting nonsense of the conventicle?"[1]

It was first intended—perhaps not very judiciously—to have located the liberated Fingoes in the old "Ceded District," under the supposition that, from their well-known hatred to the Kaffirs, they would prove an efficient barrier against the incursions of the latter. When however Sir Benjamin d'Urban's measures made way for the "Stockenstrom" system of policy, the Fingoes were widely dispersed over the whole Colony; and Sir George Napier (Sir Benjamin's

[1] From Sir James Alexander's Campaign in Kaffirland, vol. ii., p. 225.

successor) caused considerable numbers to be removed to a Settlement called Clarkson, in the district of the Zitzikamma, to the westward of Algoa Bay, where, it is said, this establishment is now in a thriving condition.

Though many of the customs of the Fingoes are similar to those of the Kaffirs, and possessing, as they do, a common language, they are easily distinguishable from each other. The former are, generally speaking, thicker set, and shorter of stature; whilst the colour of the skin—approaching nearer to black—proclaims an origin from a locality much more contiguous to the torrid zone. Another distinguishing mark of this people is a slit in the upper part of the ear, and which the Fingoe immediately shows, as a sign of identity, if accused of being of the hated Amakosa race.

The Fingoe women have also much more of the "brunette" in their complexions than the Kaffir beauties; their figures are more fully developed; and, though their countenances possess not the least pretension to beauty, and is frequently of the darkest hue, I have often beheld sable nymphs of this tribe, whose perfect form might have served as very models for the sculptor's art.

In their dress and equipments, when preparing to meet the foe—during their war-dances, and other ceremonies—the Fingoes show a great fondness for barbaric pageantry and display. The shield—that martial appendage—a few years ago so essential a part of the war dress, both with Kaffirs and Fingoes, being found ineffectual against the effects of "villanous saltpetre," is now cast aside, and become nearly obsolete

and forgotten. But, at the time of their liberation from Hintza's tyranny, it still constituted an indispensable and picturesque part of their accoutrements; and the Fingoe, advancing under its shelter, on the enemy, assegaï in hand, and his head adorned with jackalls' and wolves' tails, wildly streaming in the wind, whilst yelling forth his terrific war-cry, must have presented a striking picture of a "real" African barbarian!

"I witnessed this evening," says an officer engaged in the war of 1835, "a beautiful scene. At a drift we met forty-seven Fingoes, in their complete war equipments, with ornamented head-dress, shields, bundles of assegaïs, &c., singing in chorus a war-song, the most harmonious thing I ever heard. When they came to the drift, they held their shields over their heads, so as to cover and protect the whole person from any thing thrown down upon them whilst crossing it. They first quivered an assegaï in their right hand, then collected in a dense mass, formed in a line two deep, then into three divisions; collected again, danced, whistled, and sang, from a faint, soft strain, until it ended in a roar; shook their shields and assegaïs in such a manner, that it first seemed like the wind rustling through the leaves, until it rose to the deafening noise of a storm raging amidst the dense foliage of a large forest."[1]

Fingoe kraals, or villages, are now to be found in every part of the Eastern Province, more especially in the neighbourhood of the towns. The huts which compose their kraals are of a circular form, of a semi-

[1] From Godlonton's Account of the Kaffir Irruption of 1834-5

hemispherical shape, between five and six feet in height, and of rather greater diameter, having one low entrance, which answers the various purposes of door, window, and chimney. Like the habitations of the Kaffirs, these huts are constructed, by the women, of strong boughs planted in the ground, and fastened to a common centre at the top. On this frame a sort of basket-work is woven, and the interstices plastered with cow-dung: which bee-hive-like abode is rendered impervious to the rain, by being either thatched with reeds, or covered with the hides of their slaughtered animals.

The vicinity to civilization appears to have caused as little change in the mode of life of the Fingoes as it has effected in the construction of their primitive habitations. They seem even to adhere pertinaciously to the habits and observances brought with them from those remote regions whence they were driven by the Zoolahs, when they threw themselves on the tender mercies of the Kaffir nation.

Often, during the tranquil beauty and stillness of a night, illumined by the bright moon of these Southern climes, have I anxiously watched the strange evolutions of the mystic dance, and listened to their wild and not inharmonious songs, apparently directed—in token of some vague and undefined superstition—(for "worship" would most certainly be a misnomer) towards that serene planet which then shed around her soft and benignant rays.

The population of the Fingoes in the eastern province is every day fast augmenting; and though, owing to Hottentot idleness and want of European

labour, their services are now extremely valuable to the Colonists, still it may be a matter of speculation how far these people are to be trusted, when they become more powerful by their continually increasing numbers; for, though a sober and laborious servant, the Fingoe, nevertheless, possesses all the characteristics of an African origin. He is often sullen and morose;—treacherous, vindictive, and cruel by nature—he equals the Kaffir in barbarity and love of plunder; and, as gratitude for benefits conferred is not found in the vocabulary of any portion of the race, it behoves us to be on our guard, lest, whilst we have succeeded in repulsing the barbarians from without, we be not cherishing a secret foe, who may unexpectedly turn upon us, when we are least prepared for the insidious attack.

APPENDIX.

EXTRACTED FROM PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

RE-INFORCEMENT OF TROOPS TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.[1]—

Page 2.

(No. 1. Military.) No. 12.

Despatch from the Right Hon. Earl Grey to Governor Sir P. Maitland, K.C.B.

Downing Street, 18th July, 1846.

Sir—The intelligence last received from you, to the 24th of April last, relating to the state of affairs on the eastern frontier of the Cape, has induced Her Majesty's Government to decide on sending out the service-companies of two regiments of the line, amounting each to 540, rank and file, together with seven or eight officers, who will be commissioned for the special service of bringing into discipline and commanding the irregular force already embodied, and also of taking the command of any permanent force of the same description which may hereafter be enrolled for the defence of the Colony, against the irruption of Kaffirs.

The officers commanding the vessels which may carry out these troops, will be directed to touch in Table Bay, for the purpose of taking your orders respecting the place at which the troops are to be disembarked.

I think it right to add, that the last orders sent by Her Majesty's late Government to Mr. Ouseley, on the subject of the detention of the reserve-battalion of the 45th Regiment, and of the service-companies of the 73rd Regiment, at Monte Video, directed him to lose no time in despatching those troops to the Cape.

[1] From "Blue Book" for 1847, p. 124, 125.

The orders in question were despatched from hence on the 8th or 9th of April, and should have reached Mr. Ouseley's hands about the 20th of June. At that time, Her Majesty's ship "Resistance" is supposed to have been at his disposal, and would be capable to accommodate the reserve. But Her Majesty's ship "Apollo," which was expressly sent back from this country to take on board the 73rd Regiment, sailed for the Rio la Plata on the 30th of April, and should have arrived there before this: so that, upon the whole, Her Majesty's Government are entitled to expect that those troops should reach the Cape of Good Hope at no distant period, (if they have not arrived there already) and enable you to dispense with the services not only of the 90th Regiment, which has been unexpectedly detained by you, on its passage home from Ceylon, but also of the service companies of the 91st and 27th Regiments, which are to be relieved by the troops temporarily detained at Monte Video. Upon this subject, however, I abstain from fettering your discretion by peremptory instructions, persuaded as I am that there will be no disposition on your part to detain unnecessarily the three battalions in question; and that, if circumstances of unusual urgency should, in your judgment, require the detention of the whole or of part of them, you will not keep them longer than may be absolutely requisite for the security of the Colony under your government.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) GREY.

To Lieutenant-General Sir P. Maitland, K.C.B., &c.

(No. 3. Military.) No. 13.

Despatch from the Right Hon. Earl Grey to Governor Sir P. Maitland, K.C.B.

Downing Street, August 3, 1846.

Sir—Referring to my Despatch, No. 1, "Military," of the 18th ultimo, I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's steam-vessel, "Inflexible," which is proceeding to New Zealand, will land at the Cape as many of the officers who have been selected to be employed there on particular service, as could be collected. I shall add their names in a postscript.

I have further to acquaint you, that I have instructed the Master-General and Board of Ordnance to forward to the Cape

6,000 stand of arms, with accoutrements. Of that supply, the "Inflexible" will carry out about 2,000, and the remainder will be forwarded by the earliest opportunity.

I have further instructed the Master-General and Board to ascertain what quantity of ammunition there may be in store now at the Cape, and to take prompt and effectual measures for providing against any deficiency on that head.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) GREY.

To Lieut-General Sir P. Maitland, K.C.B., &c.

PS. The officers' names are—

Lieut.-Colonel Geo. Henry Mackinnon, unattached.
" Geo. Green Nicolls, unattached.
" Edw. H. D. E. Napier, unattached.
" Auchmuty Montresor, unattached.
Major Henry Knight Storks, unattached.
" William Marsden Wetenall, unattached.
" John O'Grady, unattached.

SALDANHA BAY.—Page 2.

The land-locked harbour of Saldanha Bay, about sixty miles to the northward of Cape Town, on the western coast, is the only safe port of refuge on the inhospitable and iron-bound shore of this part of Southern Africa, and the proximity to which is first announced by the peculiar colour of the sea, here assuming a dark olive tint, approaching almost to black. This vast inland sheet of water, capable of containing the whole British Navy, forms one of the noblest harbours in the world, and in historic associations is intimately connected with the settlement of the Cape.

It was first, as the name implies, discovered by the Portuguese, and afterwards much frequented by the early Dutch Settlers of the Cape, who carried on here an extensive traffic with the Native Tribes, from whom they obtained cattle, in exchange for tobacco, brass wire, beads, and other baubles.

Towards the end of last century, Saldanha Bay was (on our declaration of war with the Netherlands) the memorable scene of the wholesale capture of the Dutch fleet, so graphically described by the French traveller, Le Vaillant, who witnessed the

event, and who, in glowing language, likewise relates the valour he displayed in the destruction of a huge panther, near the shores of the Bay. Unfortunately for the degree of credit to be attached to this relation of the "lively Frenchman," our countryman, Barrow, followed close in his footsteps, and was thus enabled to expose many of the fabulous creations of a very poetical imagination.

The latter author, who visited the Boer's, or Dutch Settler's family, with whom Le Vaillant was residing when this "grande chasse" took place, says: "The story of shooting the tiger, in which his great courage is contrasted with the cowardice of the peasantry, I read to them, out of his book. They laughed very heartily, and assured me, that though the story had some foundation in fact, the animal had been shot through the body by a stell-roer, or trap-gun, set by a Hottentot, and was expiring under a bush at the time they found it, when the valiant Frenchman discharged the contents of his musket into the tiger, and despatched him."

On the 19th of August, 1796, another Dutch fleet again fell into our power at Saldanha Bay, about a twelvemonth after the capture of the Cape by a British force under Major-General Craig. "The value," says Adolphus, "of this acquisition, was great in itself, but more particularly as the loss of it left to our enemies no intermediate station, at which their armaments intended for India could obtain supplies or succours."

The Dutch, urged on by France, securely looked forward to the re-capture of the Cape; "hopes which were entertained," continues the above-quoted author, "from an expedition sent, under Rear-Admiral Engelbertin Lucas, to recover the Cape of Good Hope. It consisted of only two ships of sixty-four guns, one of fifty-four, four frigates, and a sloop; with somewhat less than two thousand men. It is suggested that, as a far superior force under Admiral Elphinstone was well known to be in those parts, so slight an expedition would not have been employed, but that the Dutch were deceived by their French allies, who, for a very valuable consideration, engaged to furnish an ample assistance; but, having received the sum, refused to fulfil their engagement. The Dutch having reached Saldanha Bay, in the absence of the British fleet, Major-General Craig made judicious arrangements for resisting them; but his cares were relieved by the timely appearance of Admiral Elphin-

stone, with two seventy-fours, five sixty-fours, and five frigates, and smaller vessels. Sensible that he could offer no effectual resistance, Admiral Lucas, by capitulation, surrendered his whole fleet.[1] The trade of the Colony, and the reception of vessels from countries in amity with England, was regulated by a prudent and liberal Order in Council."

* * * * * *

With all the advantages, Saldanha Bay possesses as a secure and land-locked harbour, capable of containing shipping of any size and to any amount, it may perhaps be deemed matter of surprise that the open and unprotected shores of Table Bay—in fact, no "bay" at all, but a mere roadstead, and during several months of the year, a most insecure one to boot, should have been fixed upon, as the site of the principal settlement in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

The only reason assignable for this preference is the copious supply of water, which, issuing from Table Mountain, abundantly provides for the wants of the inhabitants and shipping. But, although no such perennial stream falls into Saldanha Bay, a small river, called the "Berg," which "never fails, even in the driest weather,"[2] to discharge itself into St. Helena Bay, (a distance of about fifteen miles by land) might, it is said, be easily diverted from its course, and, from the nature of the ground, be readily made to flow into the former receptacle.

Barrow moreover asserts, that "the spring at 'Witte Klip,' (the White Rock) about six miles to the northward of Hoetje's Bay, (one of the branches of Saldanha) seems amply sufficient for the supply of a large fleet of ships, if collected and brought to the bay in pipes, the expense of which would not exceed a few thousand pounds."

Hence the objection of want of water might apparently at little expense be completely obviated; and, besides, from the nature of this part of the coast, it is also more than probable that fresh water is to be found in the sand, a very few feet below the surface. But, with the usual apathy and indifference attached to every thing appertaining to this Colony, no attempt seems ever to have been made to ascertain so important a fact: nor have any steps been taken to form a naval establishment on this spot, for which it seems so admirably adapted.

[1] 1796, August 19th. [2] Barrow, Vol. ii., p. 262.

The late[1] discovery of the fertilizing properties of guano gave, some four or five years back, a temporary importance to Saldanha Bay. This substance, the deposit during a long succession of ages, from myriads of birds of the penguin and gannet tribes, indigenous to this part of the world, was first exported from Ichaboe, a small island further up the coast, about the 26th degree of south latitude. The great demand for the article, however, soon exhausting the supply, Saldanha Bay was next frequented for the same purpose; and as many as a hundred and fifty ships, some of them of a thousand tons, are said to have been here at a time, taking in cargoes of this material.

The guano, which, to the depth of twenty or thirty feet, covered the small rocky islands in the bay, was farmed out by government at £1. sterling per ton. The principal supply appears to have been found on the rock of Maleassen, or Malagasen, at the northern entrance of the bay, on the centre of which a flagstaff was planted. Lines were then drawn from this point as a centre, to the circumference of the island, to partition it off in so many portions—like slices of a plum-cake—of which each was appropriated to a particular vessel, whose crew pitched tents, erected scaffoldings, and continued for weeks together, the process of shipping off the odoriferous surface of the island; no doubt much to the astonishment and dismay of its winged inhabitants, the penguins and gannets, who would willingly have dispensed with the kind offices of such unceremonious scavengers.

While these undertakings were in progress, Maleassen presented all the life and bustle of a fair, and that of rather the "Donnybrook" species. The crews from the different ships here set up huts, pitched tents, and erected scaffoldings on the spots where they were respectively to commence operations. Above these nautical encampments, formed of sails and tarpaulins, thrown over spars and yards, now floated gay banners, labelled with the several fanciful appellations bestowed upon

[2] At. p. 288 of the "Records of the Cape," we find the following paragraph in the Journal of Commander Wagenaar, the successor of Van Riebeck, Feb. 17, 1666: "Sent the Crowned Herring to Saldanha Bay, to fetch a load of sea birds dung for our gardens." It would hence appear that the discovery above alluded to is not of so recent a date as generally imagined.

them, such as "Wapping," "London Docks," "Sheerness," and other "neat and appropriate mottoes."

Next came suttlers and spirit-venders from the Cape, who, as may easily be imagined, reaped an abundant harvest on a spot, where scenes of drunkenness and insubordination invariably ensued, not unfrequently followed by blows and bloodshed. The ship officers at last could no longer venture among these lawless crews; as, on so doing, they were invariably repulsed with volleys of guano, pelted with dead penguins and gannets, and threatened with still worse treatment. In short, things got at length to such a pass, that one of her Majesty's vessels was ordered round from Simon's Bay, to restore something like order and regularity in this riotous Settlement.

This object being effected, the guano was in immense quantities rapidly cleared away, and Government is said, by disposing of it at 20*s*. a ton, to have realized upwards of £200,000, while the profits of the speculators were also enormous. The guano was sent to all parts of the world, and even at the Cape as much as £6. per ton was not unfrequently given, for what was considered this universal fertilizer. For a time nothing was heard of but "guano;" and, although its oleaginous nature certainly succeeds in some soils, it may, in passing, be observed, that the potato disease—hitherto previously unknown—was coeval with its introduction to England in the shape of manure. How far this hypothesis may be correct would perhaps be worthy the investigation of our scientific agricultural societies.

During the extensive operations above alluded to, Saldanha Bay became a lively mart, where, as before observed, speculators of all descriptions eagerly resorted. Cattle, provisions, wine, spirits, and wares of every sort, made their way by sea and by land, to this hitherto secluded and nearly unknown spot. A son of Esculapius even came on "spec," and undertook the wholesale cure of broken pates and bloody noses, at the rate of £5. per ship!

His avocation was not, however, confined to these immediate effects of drunken brawls; for, whether resulting from the disorderly lives led by the sailors—to the inordinate use of ardent spirits—to feeding on salt provisions—to the nauseous effluvium of the guano—or some other unknown cause, scurvy and dysentery soon broke out to a fearful extent; while other

dangerous symptoms manifested themselves in profuse bleedings from the nose and eyes;[1] and Saldanha became, in every sense of the word, a regular "sick bay."

The symptoms last mentioned were, probably, caused by the quantities of ammonia contained in the guano; large lumps of this substance being often found embedded many feet below the surface; while layers of mummied penguins and gannets were frequently turned up, in a high state of preservation, and, strange to say, a human body, equally well preserved, was likewise discovered.

Le Vaillant, who visited this part of the world in 1781, states that the captain of a Danish ship was interred many years before on one of the small Islands at Saldanha Bay, and that he was very anxious to have examined his remains, but was deterred by the superstitious veneration of the Dutch sailors who accompanied him. It is therefore extremely probable that the body lately discovered, may be the identical one mentioned by the French traveller; but, as the bump of "veneration" appears not to have been so strongly developed with the modern guano-diggers as on the good old "Mynheers" of yore, the Dane (if such he were) was unceremoniously, not only dug out, but securely packed and shipped on board a vessel consigned to Liverpool, and was there exhibited with comsiderable profit as a South African relic! Thus are the very dead, in this stirring age, turned to account, and there is "speculation" even in their "eyeless skulls!"

At the time of our arrival, Saldanha Bay had resumed its original deserted aspect: the guano—its chief attraction—having nearly disappeared, left the gray rocks in pristine nakedness; a scaffolding or two, on the water's edge, to facilitate the embarkation of the manure, were the only remaining indications of the busy scenes which had of late enlivened its now abandoned shores; and a solitary bark lay motionless at anchor in one of the small rocky inlets of the gulf.

THE TWO PASTORS.—Page 112.

Sparmann and Lichtenstein, as well as Moodie (in his "Ten

[1] The author was assured of this fact by an eyewitness, who attributed it to the exhalations of ammonia consequent on disturbing the beds of guano.

Years in Southern Africa") fully illustrate the indolent life led by the Hottentots at the various Missionary Stations, together with the very questionable character of the vagabonds who often took refuge at these asylums, under instructors sometimes as ignorant as themselves. The following extract, relating to one of the Missionary Stations, is from Sir James Alexander's work on Southern Africa, vol. ii., p. 334.

"In noticing the Kat River Settlements, I said that there were, unfortunately, two pastors here whose flocks were at variance. A former Governor, and the ex-Commissioner-General of the frontier, had committed the oversight of allowing the Independent or London Missionary Society to establish one of their body here; who immediately set to work to collect a large congregation, in opposition to that of the regular clergyman, the excellent Mr. Thompson. The flock of this latter gentleman were the industrious, well conducted, and loyal Baastards; the other congregation was the refuge for all the destitute vagrants and desperate scoundrels of colour of the Colony. Mr. Reid, the missionary, had been removed from the Kat River on the commencement of the war, as it was found that he was not a proper person to have the charge which had been assigned to him; and his congregation, being pent up with the others at Camp Adelaide, planned all sorts of mischief against the Baastards, and even laid a plot, which the presence of the General frustrated, to cut the throats of Mr. Thompson and all his people, and then go over to the enemy. All this, too, after the fertile lands of the Kat River Valley had been given to them, and after they had been supported by Government rations since the commencement of the war! A field-cornet, Andries Stoffles, *Esquire*, as a certain party used to address him, a Gono Hottentot—that is, half Kaffir and half Hottentot—was one of the ringleaders of the above infernal plot; and Dr. Phillip, the superintendent of the London Society's Mission here, took home this man, as a specimen of the aborigines, with Jan T' Zatzoe,[1] and Mr. Reid's son, by a Hottentot [wife?] Truly, we live in strange times!"

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[1] T' Zatzoe was believed in England to be a Kaffir *Prince*, with 2000 warriors at his command; his father had 150 under him.

JAN T' ZATZOE.—Page 112.

The following curious documents relative to the abduction of Jan T' Zatzoe from his kraal and people, for the purposes of our clerical showmen at Exeter Hall, are extracted from a Colonial newspaper, the *Zuid Afrikaan*, and will, perhaps, tend to expose—more than has already been done—this barefaced Missionary imposture, the above named Jan T' Zatzoe having been paraded through England as a powerful Kaffir Chief, and the organ of a large portion of that people!'

Minutes of Conference between Colonel Smith and the Amapakati of Jan T' Zatzoe.

King William's Town, 19th February, 1836.

Amapakati. We have come respectfully to ask where our Field-Cornet, Jan T' Zatzoe, is; we understand that he is on a visit somewhere in the Colony; but we heard nothing of his going until he was gone; we beg to know where he is.

Col. Smith. Have you heard whether he is going over the sea or not?

Amapakati. We have heard a whisper of the kind, but think that it cannot be the case, Jan knowing the fear we have of the sea—*most certainly he would have acquainted the principal men of his Tribe,* that he was about to undertake such a journey, and he also would have obtained *your leave.*

Col. Smith. What advantages would accrue from Jan's going to England?

Amapakati. None that we are aware of; you and the Governor having done the greatest things for us.

Col. Smith. Who do you consider the representative of Jan amongst you during his absence?

Amapakati. Molo, Jan's younger brother.

Col. Smith. Are you willing that Molo be Jan's representative as Field-Cornet?

Amapakati. We will abide your decision; but we think Molo, Jan's brother, and T' Zatzoe, his father, the most proper persons; however, Molo is *very young*, and T' Zatzoe *very old.*

Col. Smith. Therefore, you had better perhaps nominate two others from amongst yourselves, to assist Molo and T' Zatzoe. Consult about this, and let me know your decision to-morrow.

Amapakati. We hear your word, and will do so. *We feel*

astonished that Jan should leave us in this way, without consulting either you or his principal men.

Col. Smith. Jan will, nevertheless, see the Governor before he leaves, and his excellency will still place it at his option to go or to stay. If he go, it will be by his own free will, and on his own responsibility.

On the same day, February 19th, the Amapakati again waited on Colonel Smith.

Amapakati. We propose that the first Amapakati, Jzani and Vusu, in conjunction with T'Zatzoe, senior, and Molo, perform the duties of field-cornet, during the absence of Jan T' Zatzoe.

Col. Smith. I will submit your proposal to his excellency the Governor for approval.

Amapakati. We thank you, and at the *same time unanimously pray that Jan T' Zatzoe be not permitted to proceed on his journey; his doing so will very much dissatisfy his people, and do a great deal of harm.*

20th February, 1836.

T' Zatzoe, senior, (*a decrepid but fine old man*) Molo *and* Jzani *being present.*

T' Zatzoe. Where is my son?

Col. Smith. I do not know; he is absent without my leave.

T' Zatzoe. Why does he go away? he has every thing he can wish for. What has he to complain of?—you gave him leave to go to the Kat River?

Col. Smith. Yes, but I did not consider that he was going further; I told him he was to make haste back, as his people wanted him.

T' Zatzoe. I did not know he was going either, until the young man who went with him came back for his family, to take them into the Colony. What is he going over the sea for? What *good will it do us?* Will Jan not see the Governor before he goes?

Col. Smith. Yes.

T' Zatzoe. Well then, *the Governor will surely ask him what arrangements he has made with his father and his people? he can only answer, "None:"* when I hope the Governor will order him back—*our people are very much dissatisfied.*

Col. Smith. I have received a letter from Jan himself, which I will read to you. (Letter read.)

T' Zatzoe. What is he going for? We pray you, in the name of the whole tribe, to write to Jan, and not allow him to go. How long has he been mad? Oh, send him back to us—*we speak in the name of the Tribe;* again we pray you not to allow him to go.

Col. Smith. I will write to the Governor, and state your wishes and those of the Tribe.

T' Zatzoe. What have I done to my son?—he used to be obedient to me—he has now ran away from me. Do the missionaries teach children to desert their aged father, and those dependent on them, without ever seeing them, or making arrangements for their comfort? What would Jan go for?—*we have all we wish here; his gardens are good, his cattle fat, and his people happy; all they desire is, that Jan should come back to them and take care of them.*

Molo. But if Jan has disobeyed your orders, will he not do so again?

Col. Smith. No; I will write to the Governor, to tell him that Jan has disobeyed the law, by leaving his people without their or my leave.

(Signed) T' Zatzoe, ⋈ his mark.
Molo, ⋈ his mark.
H. G. Smith, Colonel, Deputy-Quarter-Master-General.
Witnesses: Thos. Lacey, Captain, 72nd Highlanders.
J. Shepstone, Head-Quarter Interpreter.
True copy: A. Balfour, A.D.C.

(Copy No. 2.) Deputy-Quarter-Master-General's Office,
King William's Town, Feb. 19, 1836.

The Field-Commandant, Macomo, came to King William's Town this day, to inquire whether it was true that Jan T' Zatzoe was going to England, and for what purpose: when the following conversation took place between him and me.

John T' Zatzoe, the day after the great meeting, came to me for a pass to go to the Kat River. I said, "Jan, you are a very good man; I will give you a pass to go anywhere throughout the Colony, but you must not be long away; your people require you."

Some time after this I received a letter from the Governor, to say application had been made by Dr. Phillip to allow Jan T' Zatzoe to go to England, and that I was to allow Jan his free will to go or stay.

Macomo (most impatiently). "But what is he going for?"

My answer was, "Jan was gone to the Kat River; I daily expected him back, and that on his return I would do so." Jan did not come back, but sent for his wife and family.

Macomo. Has he not your leave to go? then some one has made Jan do this; *I cannot understand it,*

Col. Smith. Certainly not; I have sent for him, and he does not come, but wishes to appoint his brother to do his duty.

Macomo. What do his people say to this?

Col. Smith. His Amapakati all came to me yesterday in great consternation, *thinking it was I who took him from them.* I expect him again to-day—they are both displeased and hurt at Jan's conduct—*they say they would not have prevented his going,* but that he ought to have spoken to me and them.

Macomo. What is Jan going to England for, *again I ask?*

Col. Smith. Doctor Phillip has asked the Governor to let him go home as a Kaffir chief, to speak forth about the Kaffir people.

Macomo. Is this the Doctor Phillip who once came to me and talked to me of grievances?

Col. Smith. Yes.

Macomo (most impatiently). May I speak?

Col. Smith. Certainly.

Macomo. Then, if Jan is going to England about me and my people, I do *not know him.*[1] If I want anything, I have you to speak to, and the Governor to listen. If he cannot do anything I want, he would refer it to the king. My people have all they want—they never were so happy. Daily we feel ourselves more protected. We feel that we are British subjects, and are treated as such. Who is Jan? he is as much a Hottentot as a Kaffir; *he is nobody with us.* Again I say, *I do not know him.* You should punish Jan; Kaffirs must not be allowed to do such things without leave; *all our people will think you send him,* and that I and my family are nobody. We

[1] Meaning that he would no longer recognise Jan as a Kaffir chief.

do not like his going; and again I say that we are perfectly satisfied with all you are doing for us, and feel most gratified.

(Signed) Macomo, ⋈ his mark.
Ganga, ⋈ his mark.
H. G. Smith, Colonel, Deputy-Quarter-Master-General.
Witnesses: Thos. Lacey, Captain, 72nd Highlanders.
J. Shepstone, Head-Quarter Interpreter.
A true copy: A. Balfour, A.D.C.

FURTHER APPEAL FOR PROTECTION FROM THE INHABITANTS OF SNEEUWBERG, &C.—Page 129.

Extracted from p. 60 *of Second Part of Authenticated Records of the Cape.*

1776. November 17th. To Mr. Commandant G. R. Opperman.—We, your humble and obedient servants, make known, with submission and respect, the melancholy condition in which we now live in Kandebo Sneeuwberg, for the commandos under the Sergeant Adriaan van Jaarsvelt has been of no effect; and the second, under Charl Marais, had done very little: they fell in, indeed, with a great multitude of robbers, but could not defeat them in consequence of their numbers and their own weakness; on which Van Jaarsvelt removed to beyond De Bruyns Hoogte, which renders the inhabitants of Sneeuwberg very desperate, not knowing what to do, whether to remain or to remove; though many are of a mind to remove beyond De Bruyns Hoogte; for the inhabitants there, as yet, live in a desirable state of peace; while we, on the contrary, must daily live in the greatest danger of our lives. But there still remains for us one hope, that your superior power and authority may assist in procuring peace for us, according to the request we have made to our Government, on which all depend for some alleviation; for otherwise there is no staying nor escaping, for deeds of violence are getting the upper hand more and more every day. Houses burned, Hugo's slave murdered and cut in pieces. Oh! must not the heavens tremble, and the earth shudder at the troubles with which your servants are oppressed, and we are daily becoming more fearful that we shall lose our own lives; for all that we have as yet done has been

lost labour; and, without the help of your authority, we must at last lose every thing.

We, therefore, through necessity, take the liberty of addressing ourselves to you, and requesting a speedy answer to our petition to our Government, according to which, each will be enabled to regulate himself. And on account of the same truths, and seeing the approach of the same consequences of their ruin in Candebo, the inhabitants of the latter have also signed; the same troubles will reach them, for the Sneeuwberg is becoming weaker and weaker from the migration of its inhabitants.

We remain in hope, and trust that you will not be dilatory with regard to our request; and have the honour, with all respect, to subscribe ourselves, and trust that we are your willing servants, D. S. van der Merwe, J. Smit, J. J. H. van der Merwe, B. J. Burger, Schalk W. Burger, W. Burger, J. van der Merwe, jun., J. Joosten, jun., H. van der Walt, P. Venter, Hs., J. van der Walt, Carel van der Merwe, A. P. Burger, R. van Heeren, H. C. Herholdz, J. F. du Pree, J. van der Merwe, D. van der Berg, G. J. Koekemoer, A. Oberholzer, A. P. van der Berg, Albertus van Jaarsveld, W. Basson.

FALSE ACCUSATIONS AGAINST THE DUTCH COLONISTS.—

Page 130.

The following "Extracts of Records from the Board of the Landdrost and Militia Officers of Stellenbosch," from p. 55 et seq., of Authenticated "Records of the Cape," part 2nd, will show how false is the accusation brought against the Dutch Colonists, of unnecessarily shedding the blood of the natives, or of sending Commandos against them on slight or baseless grounds.

1776. May 7. The Landdrost intimated that he had, since the last resolution of the 2nd of April, not only successively received two letters from Commandant Opperman, dated 27th March and 13th April last, but a verbal complaint from Sergeant Willem Steenkamp besides, concerning the continual robberies and murders by the Bushmen Hottentots, in the districts of Sneeuwberg, Nieuweveld, Swartenberg, and Bokkeveld. With respect to the requests therein contained for the assistance of men and ammunition, he could not omit to bring

them before the Board, or to produce the said letters, in order conjointly to form such a decision thereupon as might be deemed most consistent with the public good, and as the case should be found to demand.

Which Letters and Statements, as well as the former suspended resolution of the 5th March, having been attentively read, and it having thus appeared, that besides a considerable number of sheep, the said robbers had not only plundered our inhabitants in those countries, from November last year to this April, of fully 300 head of horned cattle; but had, besides, murdered eight of their herdsmen; while our inhabitants themselves were no longer safe against their attacks.

We have, therefore, in deliberating upon these reports, and taking into consideration:—First, that these predatory Bushmen are only regarded as robbers, and destroyed by the other good Hottentots, who have been gradually expelled from the country beyond the settlements of the Europeans by their depredations. And again, that these robbers, being unable to plunder any thing more from other Hottentots in the vicinity of their own caverns and places of concealment, and as they live by robbing alone, are induced by their appetites to plunder our inhabitants of their means of subsistence—at first, without opposition, but on encountering resistance by means of force and violence. Thirdly. That, in consequence of the progressive deterioration of the farms and pastures in the nearer districts, our inhabitants are compelled by necessity, from time to time, to seek better farms at a distance, and with the approbation of our Government to settle in those grassy countries, whence the good Aborigines, or Hottentots, who always lived on good terms with us, have been gradually ejected by the depredations of the Bushmen; although these do not, like the others, turn the country to any useful purpose.

And thus, lastly, it is to be feared, that if this be not opposed betimes, and in the best manner practicable, and force repelled by force, these depredations may in a short time extend to the nearer districts, in the welfare of which, on account of their denser population and more important produce, the Colony, as well as the Company, is deeply interested; more particularly should these attacks, instead of being repelled by opposition, be encouraged more and more by the abandonment of the said tracts and countries, as has already been experienced.

And that, upon all the grounds and motives above stated, it would be best that there should be again a general commando against the said robbers, in order either to compel them to make peace, or to expel them from the vicinity of the present Settlements of our inhabitants.

But, as it appears, particularly from the said reports, that the said Field-Commandant has, among other things, demanded not only to be assisted with ammunition; namely, with powder and lead, but also with men, waggons, and draught oxen, as well out of these neighbouring districts, as from those here, who possess farms in those remote countries, and thus are also greatly interested in the matter.

We have, therefore, on taking into consideration that the intention of his—Opperman's—appointment, as Commandant over the thirteen Field-Sergeants commanding in the said remote countries, was conferred—with the approval of Government—chiefly with the special object that he should constantly issue orders, according to the exigency of the circumstances, for such unavoidable commands as should be deemed absolutely necessary, without our always finding ourselves obliged to furnish from this quarter that assistance in men which is too burdensome for the Burghers not interested therein; and also that there are, under the said thirteen Field-Sergeants, a number of men amply sufficient. But that, on the other hand, it is but consistent with equity that all such inhabitants of these districts, as possess farms and cattle in the said distant countries should also contribute in proportion; and, further, that, in consequence of the constant commandos continued to this day, little worth mentioning of the ammunition issued by Government in the year 1774 remains on hand, as appears by the accounts kept of its expenditure; and as without this nothing is to be done, but, on the contrary, much mischief is to be feared, this requisition of the said Commandant should be complied with.

It was, therefore, for the reasons stated, unanimously deemed best, and resolved accordingly, under the approbation of the Governor and Council, to inform the said Commandant Opperman, in reply to his said letters, that, for the reasons aforesaid, no assistance in men can be given from this quarter; while, upon the other hand, it was agreed that:—

He shall, with every kind of prudent management, send out either one general commando, or so many small ones under

separate leaders, to be formed out of the men under the said thirteen Field Corporals, as the state of matters may require, and at such seasons as he, with the advice of his said sergeant, may deem most suitable.

That he shall accordingly cause to be furnished by every one interested in the countries of the said thirteen sergeants, in a fair proportion to the property of each person, the necessary waggons, oxen, horses, and provisions, particularly from those who cannot attend on commando.

That the necessary ammunition be requested from Government, and, if granted, forwarded to him from hence in the best and most convenient manner.

It was further unanimously thought best, and accordingly resolved, earnestly to request His Excellency, the Governor, and the Hon. Council of Policy, after due communication of the premises, that they may be graciously pleased again to grant us, for the said expectation, from three to four hundred pounds of gunpowder, and from six to eight hundred pounds of musket balls.

And it was deemed best, should this ammunition be obtained from the Government, that it be sent to the Commandant, with a proper guard, and an open order from one Field-Sergeant to another.

It was lastly deemed a matter of the most absolute necessity, and therefore unanimously resolved, again to remind the Field-Commandant in the said letter, to adhere to the instructions he has received, and accordingly to prevent and oppose the too needless shedding of blood, and the sending out commandos upon too light grounds; and to try every mode and device towards concluding a peace upon a permanent footing with the said savage Tribes; *and, above all, to look well to the establishment of such orders as will prevent our inhabitants from causing on our side the first rupture of such peace* by any provocation whatsoever, still less any molestation or unnecessary violence.

DEPREDATIONS OF THE BUSHMEN.—(*Relating to the Quaiquæ Race of the present day*).—Page 131.

The following extracts from Barrow's work on Southern Africa, (vol. i., pp. 234, 235, and 254) will show what the Dutch Frontier Colonists suffered from the lawless depredations

of the Bushmen, and also how reluctantly they undertook commandos against these robbers :—

"Three weeks had scarcely elapsed, after our return from the Kaffir country, till we were ready for another expedition to the northward, across the Sneuwberg, or Snowy Mountains. In these mountains, and in the country immediately behind them, dwells a race of men, that, by their habits and manner of life, are justly entitled to the name of savage; a name however of which, it is greatly to be feared, they have been rendered more worthy by the conduct of the European Settlers. They are known in the Colony by the name of Bosjesmans, or men of the Bushes, from the concealed manner in which they make their approaches to kill and to plunder. They neither cultivate the ground nor breed cattle, but subsist, in part, on the natural produce of their country, and make up the rest, by depredations on the Colonists on one side, and the neighbouring tribes of people that are more civilized than themselves, on the other. Twenty years ago, it seems, they were less numerous and less ferocious than at the present day; and their boldness and numbers are said of late to have very much increased. At one time, they were pretty well kept under, by regular expeditions of the peasantry against them. Each division had its commandant, who was authorized to raise a certain number of men, and these were furnished by Government with powder and ball. *It was a service at all times undertaken with reluctance*, especially by such as were least exposed to the attacks of the savages; and, during the late disturbances of Graaff Reynet, these expeditions met with considerable interruptions. The people of Bruyntjes Hoogté were the first who failed in raising their proportion of men. Zuure Veldt was deserted, and Camdeboo and Zwart Ruggens became negligent and remiss. The people of Sneuwberg, lying nearest to the common enemy, were left to sustain the whole brunt of the business; and had they not conducted themselves with great fortitude, perseverance, and address, that valuable part of the Colony, the nursery of cattle, had now been abandoned. A whole division called the Tarka, and a great part of another, the Sea-Cow River and Rhinosceros-berg, had been deserted, as well as a small part of Sneuwberg."

* * * * *

At page 254, vol. i., of the same work, we find the following

paragraph, which is given here, to show how averse the Boers were to engage in expeditions or commandos against the Bushmen:

"The people whom the Commandant made choice of, were all young men, who, *reluctantly as at all times they take the service of the regular expeditions*, seemed delighted on the present occasion, which they considered in the light only of a party of pleasure."

Thunberg, who visited this part of the world from 1772 till 1775, likewise bears witness to the depredations of the Bushmen, by which he says the Hottentots had been completely ruined, and forced to abandon large tracts of territory, which were subsequently occupied by the Dutch, by whom they were, from the above cause, found unoccupied and deserted.

INSECT WORSHIP BY THE BAROAS.—Page 134.

The following account is extracted from the "Narrative of an Exploratory Tour to the North-East of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope," by the Revs. Arbousset and Daumas, of the Paris Missionary Society:—

"With all that, the Bushmen are so debased, that they worship an insect of the caterpillar tribe, called the *Caddisworm*. This hermit, called by them *N'go*, constructs for itself a pretty case of pieces of straw, placed longitudinally, leaving an opening sufficiently large to enable it to put out its head and shoulders when it wishes to seek food; but in general no other part of the larva is seen but the head and its fore feet, by means of which it attaches itself to leaves, or drags after it the case in which the rest of its body is enclosed, and into which it retires altogether in case of alarm. The Bechuana Natives believe that it is very venomous, and are afraid when they meet with it in the grass on which their cattle are browsing; but the Baroas have made it their God. One of them, of whom I asked if he did not pray to his deceased father like the other inhabitants of the land, said, 'No;' adding, that his father had taught him otherwise, and had solemnly said before dying: 'My son, when thou goest to the chase, seek with great care for the N'go, and from him ask food for thyself and for thy children; mark, after thy prayer, if he moves his head describing a semicircle,

(an elbow or angle) which signifies that he has heard thee graciously, and that very evening thou wilt bring to thy mouth a portion of game, which thou shalt hold fast betwixt thy teeth, and shall cut with thy blade of iron, with thy arm bent, and describing also a semicircle like our God.'"

THE INSECT DEITY.—Page 134.

Kolben gives the following account of the Insect Deity, which was an object of worship with the Hottentots of his day. (Vol. i., pp. 99 to 102.)

"The Hottentots likewise adore, as a benign Deity, a certain insect, peculiar, it is said, to the Hottentot countries. This animal is of the dimensions of a child's little finger; the back green; the belly specked with white and red. It is provided with two wings, and on its head with two horns.

"To this little winged deity, whenever they set eyes upon it, they render the highest tokens of veneration. And if it honours, forsooth, a kraal with a visit, the inhabitants assemble about it in transports of devotion, as if the Lord of the Universe was come among them. They sing and dance round it, troop after troop, while it stays, in the highest raptures; throwing to it the powder of an herb they call buchu, our botanists spiræ. They cover at the same time the whole area of the kraal, the tops of the cots, and every thing without doors, with the same powder. They likewise kill two fat sheep, as a thank-offering for this high honour. And it is impossible to drive out of a Hottentot's head, that the arrival of this insect in a kraal brings favour and prosperity to all the inhabitants. They believe that all their past offences are buried in oblivion, and all their guilt purged away. They look upon themselves as made, by the presence of this deity, a new people, and resolve to reform their conduct.

"If this insect happens to alight upon a Hottentot, he is looked upon as a man without guilt, and distinguished and reverenced as a saint, and the delight of the deity ever after. His neighbours glory, that they have so holy a man among them, and publish the matter far and near. The fattest ox belonging to the kraal is immediately killed for a thank-offering; and the time is turned into a festival in honour of the

deity and the saint. To the saint are presented the entrails, well cleansed, with the fat and the caul. The caul, well powdered with buchu, and twisted like a rope, is put, collarwise, about his neck; and there he is to wear it day and night, till it rots off, or till the insect, at another visit, lights upon another inhabitant of the kraal, when he is at liberty to remove it. If this happens not, he must wear it through all the stages of putrefaction, and while a bit remains. He feasts alone on the entrails, which are boiled, while the men devour the meat, prepared the same way, and the women are regaled with the broth. Of the fat he is obliged to be very careful, and to anoint his body and apparel with that only, while any of it remains, without rejecting the least bit of it.

"The case, in every respect, is the same, if the insect alights upon a woman. She commences a saint, with the same ceremonies; only here the women feast upon the meat, while the men are regaled with the broth. This insect I have often seen, and beheld the Hottentots more than once at these solemnities. The Hottentots will run every hazard to procure the safety of this animal, and are cautious to the last degree of giving it the least annoyance. A German, who had a country-seat about six miles from the fort, having given leave to some Hottentots to turn their cattle for a while upon his land there, they removed to the place with their kraal. A son of this German, a brisk young fellow, was amusing himself in this kraal, when the deified insect appeared. The Hottentots, upon sight, ran tumultuously to adore it, while the young fellow ran to catch it, in order to see the effect such a capture would produce among them. He seized it in the midst of them. But how great was the general cry and agony, when they saw it in his hands. They stared, with distraction in their eyes, at him, and at one another. 'See, see, see!' said they; 'ah! what is he going to do? Will he kill it? will he kill it?' every limb of them shaking through apprehension for its fate. 'Why,' said the young fellow, who very well understood them, 'do you make such a hideous noise? and why such agonies for this paltry animal?' 'Ah, sir,' they replied, with the utmost concern, 'it is a divinity. It is come from heaven. It is come on a good design. Ah! do not hurt it! do not offend it. We are the most miserable wretches upon earth if you do. This ground will lie under a curse, and the crime will never be forgiven.'

This was not enough for the young German. He had a mind to carry the experiment a little farther. He seemed not therefore to be moved with their petitions and remonstrances, but made as if he intended to maim or destroy it. On this appearance of cruelty they started, and ran to and again like people frantic; asked him where and what his conscience was? and how he durst think of perpetrating a crime which would bring upon his head all the curses and thunders of Heaven. But this not prevailing, they fell all prostrate on the ground before the young fellow, and with streaming eyes and the loudest cries, besought him to spare the creature and give it its liberty. The young German now yielded; and having let the insect fly, the Hottentots jumped, and capered, and shouted in all the transports of joy, and running after the animal, rendered it the customary divine honours; but the creature settling upon none of them, there was not one sainted upon this occasion.

"Discoursing upon this matter myself with the Hottentots of this very kraal, they declared to me, that if this deified insect had been killed, all their cattle would certainly have been destroyed by wild beasts; and they themselves, every man, woman, and child of them, brought to a miserable end. They believe the kraal to be of evil destiny where this insect is rarely seen. And to reason with them against these infatuations, is to talk to the wind. They would sooner give up their lives than renounce the least of them."

ANALOGY BETWEEN EGYPT AND SOUTHERN AFRICA.—Page 135.

Barrow thus describes (vol. i., p. 297), the analogies in many respects existing between Egypt and Southern Africa:—

"It is a remark that cannot fail to obtrude itself on every traveller in Southern Africa, who may have attended to the accounts that have been given of the northern parts of the same continent, that the analogy between them is very close. Egypt and the Colony of the Cape lie under the same parallels of latitude; they have the same kind of climate, the same soil, the same saline waters; they both abound in natron; and the same plants[1] and the same animals are common to both.

[1] Amongst others may be mentioned the Papyrus reed, which with its graceful palm-like crest is found on the margin of every stream in Kffirland.—AUTHOR.

Egypt, without the Nile, would be a desert waste, producing only a few saline and succulent plants like those of the Great Karroo, where rain full as seldom falls as in the former country; and the sandy soil of the Cape, with the assistance of water, is as fertile as that of Egypt possibly can be. The rains in the Abyssinian Mountains generally begin in May, and cause the inundations of the Nile to take place in June, continuing to the month of September. The rains in the great mountains beyond the Kaffirs and the Tambookies, along the feet of which the Orange River runs, collecting their tributary streams in its passage, commence in November, and cause the inundations to take place, towards the Namaqua country, in December, corresponding thus exactly with the former, both countries being nearly at the same distance from the Equator, but on contrary sides. The same singular peculiarity has been observed in the conformation of the Egyptian women that pervades the whole of the Hottentot nation. That extraordinary animal, the camelopardalis, is said to be an inhabitant of Ethiopia, nearer to the Line than Egypt; and it is first met with in Southern Africa, beyond the Orange River, which is also nearer to the Line than any part of the Colony of the Cape. Many other analogies might be drawn; but these are more than sufficient to establish the opinion of a striking resemblance existing between the two countries."

MARRIAGE OF A EUROPEAN WITH A HOTTENTOT.—Page 143.

The following extracts from page 280 of the "Authenticated documents relative to the Cape," during the government of Commander Wagenaar, relate to this first marriage concluded between a European and a Hottentot female:

"June 2, 1664. This forenoon the surgeon Pieter van Meerhoff was married in the hall here, to the Company's interpreter named Eva, (who was of Hottentoo parentage, but subsequently brought up in the house of Mr. Riebeck) upon which event, according to the directions of the last Commissioner, Mr. Dircq Steux, a little marriage feast was given in the Commander's house.

"April 12, 1664. The following is the resolution passed on the subject: Appeared before the Council, Pieter van Meerhoff, of Copenhagen, surgeon's assistant, aged — years, and the Hot-

tentoo interpreter Eva, aged — years, who, having engaged themselves in marriage to each other, desired that they might be duly united in the holy state of matrimony.

"The Council, therefore, not having been able to learn anything but that they are both free persons, who—according to their own statements, have not contracted any other similar engagement—have thought fit to consent to the reasonable request of these persons; the rather because through this alliance of the said Hottentoo interpreter Eva—who has long since had herself baptized, and has begun to acquire a taste for our knowledge and our religion—with such a good, sober, and respectable man, these Native Tribes will become more and more attached to us.

"And, as the said Eva has now served the Company for many years as interpreter, without ever having received anything, except food and clothing, in return, it is resolved at the same time to give her, as a marriage gift, according to the usual custom with Company's children, a sum of fifty rix-dollars; and, as soon as the marriage is performed, a merry bridal feast; and further, that in order to encourage the bridegroom, who has served out his time here as surgeon's assistant, that he shall be, in compliance with his request, promoted to the rank of surgeon. * * * "Z. WAGENAAR," &c.

VINEYARDS AT THE CAPE.—Page 175.

Extract from the "State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822," *by a Civil Servant.* (*P.* 109).

The wines of the Cape are the objects next in importance to its agriculture. In 1806, when the Colony became English, five thousand leggers of wine, each of 152 gallons, passed into Cape Town (6,909 pipes). The quantity increased gradually, according to the seasons, until 1813, when the reduction of the duty in England, causing an augmented export, gave rise to such an addition of vineyards, that above 12,000 pipes were exported in 1817; and 10,000 leggers (13,818 pipes) have, for the average of the last five years, been annually brought into the Cape market, with the prospect of a very considerable further growth, as the new vineyards have not arrived to the point of their utmost produce. It must naturally follow, that this

immense supply outran the demand; and the price to the wine boer declined so considerably, that the increased produce is of less total value than the inconsiderable growth of former years.

The wines are of various descriptions. From the Muscadel grape is pressed the well-known Constantia and Muscat wines, of peculiar flavour, both white and red. In these wines there is is no taste of the soil: whether it be overcome by the sweetness of the grape, or that this wine will grow only in one spot, free from imparting such taste. Such was the general opinion; but Mr. Sebastian Van-Reenen, a Cape Dutch gentleman of great enterprise and sagacity, and well acquainted with the Colony, purchased the place of Witteboom, soon to become the third Constantia in name, but the great Constantia in produce, separated only by a hedge from Constantia. Reflection convinced him that the hedge which divided the property had not altered the nature of the soil on his side; to which was added, his belief that there was something in the climate of that hill imparting the flavour to the wine, as he observed the vines at Constantia to yield the same quality of wine, whether grown on white sand, clay, or gravel. Van Reenen immediately planted 110,000 vine stocks of the Muscadel grape on the adjoining hill. The seasons were unfavourable; and the jealousy of neighbours, perhaps, anticipated without displeasure the disappointment of Van Reenen's hopes. The first year, heavy rains pouring down the hill carried with them both vines and land; but he had too much resource to be dismayed; and his attentive observation of what had taken place in the first season suggested the efficacy of deep open trenches traversing the vineyard, and dividing it into sloping compartments, receiving and carrying off the deluge before it could act on the surface of the whole vineyard. Complete success was the result of his foresight, and in a few years the vineyard is expected to produce a great supply of that denomination of valuable wine known under the name of Constantia. After the disbursement of a very large sum of money, and the exertion of many years of time and anxiety, Mr. Van Reenen lived only to see that his prospects were about to be realized.

The Constantia wines were sold a short time since at 200 rix-dollars, now reduced to 150, per half-aum, a measure of 19 gallons, which is a price higher than that of any other known

wine at the place of its growth. There are said to be about 80,000 vines in bearing at Great Constantia, producing 30 leggers, or 240 half-aums, of white or red Constantias and Frontignac. The Little Constantia, as it is termed, produces more wine than the Great Constantia. The produce of the vintage of March last is 40 leggers of Constantia and 40 of Cape stock. These two Constantia farms are held under a particular tenure. The Dutch East India Company had the monopoly of the export of Constantia wine; but the purchasers of these farms redeemed the monopoly, by an agreement to deliver 60 half-aums from each farm, at 25 rix-dollars per half-aum; which are under the same covenant now received by the British Colonial government. Great dissatisfaction has been felt by the proprietors of the two Constantias at Government continuing so to do during the high price: but the reply was, that such was the condition of the grant. Whenever the vineyard of Wittcboom yields in abundance, the price will, in all probability, be so reduced, that the government will pay more than an individual, and the proprietors may fairly retort, "such was the condition of the covenant." The wine is sent to England as presents to soften the temper of ministers, and to sweeten the lips of royalty itself.

In June and July, at the usual time of pruning the vines, sufficient stocks are reserved for the formation of new vineyards where required. The ground is well dug, where moist, to the depth of two feet, and where dry, three feet; and the stocks, from eighteen to twenty-four inches, are planted in rows about three feet apart, chiefly in the month of September. The young vines throw out shoots almost immediately, and bear a few bunches of grapes the second year. The third year gives a moderate picking: and in five years the vineyard is in full bearing, and, if properly treated, will remain so beyond fifty years. One thousand stocks, when well trained and manured, yield a legger, or 152 gallons, of wine; but now that vineyards are multiplied, and manure less easily obtained, fourteen or fifteen hundred may be required for a legger. The grapes are trodden out by the feet of negro slave men, and the juice so expressed received into vats and casks, where it undergoes a fermentation (a strong one, it is to be hoped), together with all the future process. The vintage takes place in February and March; but no wine is by law permitted to be brought into

Cape Town till the following September; and regard is, in this instance, properly paid to the health of the people. Many of the new vineyards are on rising grounds, or the lower slopes of hills, in the expectation of improving the quality; yet, as vineyards in the low grounds yield most fluid, the avarice of the moment operates as a check to improvement. The wine Boer does not consider how much the production of a good staple of wine will add both to consumption and price, whilst the continuance of the present quality will narrow it to the mere beverage of the Colony.

The individual most interested in the growth and export of the wines of the Cape, and better qualified, from his abilities and observation of all that passes with respect to vineyards and wine, to give an accurate statement, observes that there are really no more than eleven distinct species of vines, from which, perhaps, 150 different sorts of wine may proceed. He calculates that there were, in 1821,

22,400,100 bearing vines
2,820,000 not in bearing

25,220,100

Of these vines, 21,000,000 are of the common green grape, vitis vinifera of Linnæus; of which is made the white wine, called Cape Madeira. Of the pontac black grape, which is the same as the cote rotie of the Rhone, the pontac of Guienne (or the pontac of France), and the port grape of the Douro, there are 270,000 stocks. Of the Muscadel grape, which gives the sweet wine of the same name, and also the Constantia, there may be reckoned 525,000 stocks. Of the green steen grape, which gives the full-bodied steen wine, so called from the same grape on the Rhine, and which is well adapted for wine, but not productive, there are 180,000 stocks. Of the hanepoot, used for raisins, but unfit for wine, on account of too much mucilage, 275,000 stocks. The remaining six species may be found, but they are not suitable to the climate or soil, and possess too much water and mucilage, and too little sugar and tartar; and of them there may be 150,000 stocks.

The 2,800,000 not in bearing will give the same proportion; and they compose the young vineyards not yet in produce.

According to this calculation, reckoning 1400 vines to a

legger, the total produce of the Cape vineyards amounts to 16,000 leggers, or 21,333 pipes; and, if the annual exportation of 12,000 pipes had continued as it stood in 1817, the consumption of the remaining part of the Colony, exclusive of Cape Town and its vicinity, together with store wine for the supply of ships in port, and with what is kept in vats for improvement, would have absorbed the whole quantity made. In this year, the export amounts to 6880 pipes, leaving a great increase in the stock of wines in the hands of the wine-merchants at the Cape. The vintage of last March has not quite equalled former ones; but it will leave a growing surplus quantity of wines, to be delivered in September, unavailable for the purpose of remittance. The only desperate hope in which a wine-grower can at present indulge, is, that the blight might abandon the wheat and settle on the vines for a season.

The object on which, and on which alone, men here dwell, is a hope that the legislature will allow the Cape to become a free port in the true and liberal sense of the word. "The State of the Nation," published at the meeting of Parliament, and evidently the *exposé* of Government, affords expectation that, in a very short period, the hope will be realized. This pamphlet, amongst other praise, applauds ministers specially for continuing at the peace, the "Free Port of Bermuda," and generally for "free ports, so wisely established;" adding, "The object of their maintenance is twofold; the one reflecting much honour on the political generosity of the country; the other, more particularly directed to the maintenance *and advancement of our interest*." It is impossible not to acknowledge "the frame is excellent, and in every respect consistent with liberal policy and *just commercial views*."

Under the order of council and the bonding system, it is now permitted to those foreign nations in amity with Great Britain, who grant similar indulgence to the commerce of the Cape of Good Hope, to land on duty for consumption, and to bond free from duty for exportation, any produce and merchandize (with the exclusion of cottons, woollens, steel, and iron) of their respective countries. To this should be added the extension of bonding, for exportation, the produce and merchandize of all other countries. Ships of every nation would then resort for their mutual traffic and exchange of articles, and the Cape become an important depôt for the east and the west. Under

such a system, probably, the wines might find a full sale in the consumption of an immensely increased tonnage, and with the addition of a considerable export to America. With such an opportunity of trade and barter as a free port gives, few ships would omit to call at the Cape, even in the outward passage to India; and, probably, none in the homeward would neglect so enlarged a market.

A duty of four rix-dollars, six schellings, is paid on each legger, for market money, &c.; and on export, the wine-taster receives three rix-dollars, including guaging, on account of Government, and one rix-dollar for wharfage. There was formerly an export duty; but every description of export from the Cape is now duty free.

If a wine boer living at Stellenbosch sends a legger of Cape wine in a waggon drawn by twelve oxen, and attended by two slaves, they return at the end of four days with, possibly, a three months' credit on some Cape wine-merchant, for 45 rix-dollars; from which must be deducted the payment of four rix-dollars, six schellings, duty and guaging, and also half a dollar turnpike toll; leaving to him, on each legger of 152 gallons, the sum of three pounds sterling, as the value of the rent of the land, of the carriage, of his own labour, and that of his slaves or hired servants, and as the fund for his household and personal expenses, and those of his family. By the present newly-built waggons, with immense circumference of wheel, each bearing four leggers, the expense is lessened, and twenty oxen only are sufficient to drag this vehicle to Cape Town, which saves twenty-eight oxen in the carriage of four leggers.

The culture of a vineyard requires only at particular seasons of the year any large supply of hands; and a regular price of one hundred rix-dollars in the market would be a full and satisfactory payment for the legger of new Cape wine, of the best quality.

From the refuse of the grape is obtained a poor description of vinegar and of brandy, which is an ardent and destructive spirit, and of a quality unfit for exportation, or for the improvement of the wine. It is chiefly consumed by the sailors of ships in harbour; and by persons of the lower class, who value liquor according to its power of intoxication.

There is a market duty of three rix-dollars per legger on brandy, and one for guaging.

NUMBER OF LEGGERS OF WINE AND BRANDY BROUGHT INTO CAPE TOWN, AS PER MARKET BOOK.

Year.	Wine.	Brandy.
1804	6016	511
1805	5000	602
1806	4732	448
1807	5265	337
1808	2982	316
1809	5003	298
1810	4897	373
1811	6947	309
1812	5363	439
1813	6073	315
1814	5655	301
1815	9951	560
1816	8757	702
1817	12379	506
1818	7701	385
1819	8888	448
1820	11096	506
1821	11624	566

The consumption of the Colonial wine in Cape Town and the neighbourhood is calculated at 1200 leggers for the pachter, and 3000 leggers for the town and neighbourhood, and for Simon's Town 480 leggers, making a total of 4680, or above 6500 pipes; which, with the export of 6877 pipes, brings the consumption of 1821 to 13,377 pipes, leaving 3,693 pipes in the hands of the dealers.

The consumption and the export have been nearly the same for the last three years; and there must probably be now on hand about 11,000 pipes beyond the annual requisites. If this could be exported, yielding £10 per pipe, it would add 1,384,873 rix-dollars to the balance of exports. The Colony is capable of doubling its produce in wine, if consumption could be found; but five thousand pipes is the utmost annual consumption of the British market. It is jocosely said, that, in a fashionable tavern, if you order a pint of sherry, you may have a bottle of Cape wine gratis.

It may appear to the reader that too much stress is laid on the importance to the Cape of this single article of export; but

those who are most alive to the interests of the Colony are convinced that her progress mainly, if not wholly, depends upon the sale of wines. It is, in fact, upon that alone, which is her natural produce, that Great Britain can rely for the eventual payment of an overwhelming mass of imports now unsold; and it is on wine that the Colony must rest, as the means of its future progress, long after that moment, when the infatuation of sending out settlers has given way to a sober sense of the real capabilities of the Cape of Good Hope.

INJUSTICE TOWARDS THE COLONISTS.—Page 232.

The following extract from a work entitled "Case of the Colonists," by the Editor of the "Graham's Town Journal," may tend to throw some light on the causes of the Kaffir war of 1834-5.

"If the preceding sketches of the case of the Frontier Colonists, says Mr. Godlonton," the author of the work alluded to, "have been perused with attention, the uninitiated reader cannot be otherwise than surprised at the apparent absence of all motive for the infliction of that injustice, and the exhibition of that severity towards the suffering Colonists, which are both so strikingly manifest. He will find recorded the fact of an unprovoked irruption of savage hordes upon a peaceful European Settlement—many of its inhabitants being murdered, their property swept away, and their dwellings reduced to ashes. He will discover the greatest energy and ability displayed in repelling this inroad by the Governor of the Colony—the deepest sympathy expressed by him for the sufferers, and the most intense anxiety to relieve their present necessities, and secure the future peace of the Colony. It will also be seen that the Colonists, the immediate sufferers, supported by his Excellency, adopted with promptitude every constitutional means to obtain redress of their grievous wrongs;—that they appealed to the Governor of the Colony, to the Colonial Minister, to the King, to the British Parliament, but that all was in vain;—that their allegations were disputed, and their prayer not merely refused, but that, instead of redress, their case was rendered more desperate, and their prospects more dark and dismal. The invading Kaffirs, instead of condemnation, were *justified*

—instead of punishment, received *reward* for their murderous and ruinous outrage.

"All this is so marvellously paradoxical, that it becomes imperative some explanation thereon should be offered; for, although the topic is an ungrateful one, yet the sacredness of historical truth and the claims of the Colonists alike demand that it should be distinctly brought forward in the discussion of the case now under review. The solution of the difficulty is to be found in an under-plot, which actuated and governed the whole machinery. The Colonists became the victims to a dangerous delusion, at that time extremely prevalent in reference to the native or aboriginal tribes in the several Colonies. Assuming, *par excellence*, the title and character of philanthropists, the white inhabitants of the Colonies were viewed in the mass as the oppressors of the natives, as the usurpers of their country, and as those who, in every misunderstanding, *must*, from their very complexion, be the aggressors. Unfortunately for the real sufferers in the instance under consideration, the Colonial Minister of that day, my Lord Glenelg, was deeply affected by this species of monomania; being, in fact, a distinguished member of this self-elected body in the parent country.

"The Kaffir war was an occasion which brought into active antagonism the whole force of this party, and which embraced many active members of the House of Commons, at the head of whom was the late Sir T. F. Buxton, a man of high principle, of great moral worth, and of considerable ability. At that period too, unfortunately for the ruined Colonists, the Ministry was weak, the two great political parties in the country being nearly balanced—and hence it was that a comparatively insignificant section of the House of Commons was enabled to exercise sufficient power to crush any effort in opposition to them which could be made by a distant portion of the Empire, not possessing any influence over public opinion in the parent country, or weight with those who were entrusted with the administration of public affairs. The Colonists were, in fact, prostrate, and there was no friendly hand on the spot sufficiently strong to lift them up.

"There was, indeed, at the period in question, one on whom rested the hopes of the Colonists—a native of this country, and who had raised himself to the high office of Commissioner-General for the Eastern Province. But, unfortunately, this

officer had, but a very short time previously, thrown up his appointment in disgust, and had retired to the continent of Europe with an intention, as it was understood, never to return to this Colony. While thus circumstanced, he was, through the influence of the party in question, called upon to answer certain queries in reference to the treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa, and in an evil hour was induced in reply to make statements reflecting upon the inhabitants, both Dutch and English, which he found subsequently could neither be defended on sound principles, nor supported by fact.

"Scarcely, however, had this injurious statement reached the Colonial Minister, ere the intelligence of the Kaffir Irruption and of the sweeping ruin of the Frontier Districts was received by him. Startled at this unexpected outbreak, and at the grave inquiries made in Parliament on the subject, Captain Stockenstrom was hurriedly called to London, there to confront a Parliamentary Committee—of which Mr. Buxton was the most active and leading member—to give information upon the subjects which had formed the staple of the communication just before transmitted by him to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. This placed him in a dilemma; but he promptly made his election; he boldly fell back upon his written statements—at once ranked himself amongst the philanthropists—and thus persisted in advancing in that path of error upon which he had, in an evil moment, so rashly ventured. Those who may desire full information upon this subject have but to refer to the Parliamentary Papers of that day upon Aborigines, where, in the evidence given by Captain Stockenstrom and others, they will find superabundant proof of the facts here adduced, and with which many of our readers are but too familiar.

"But this was not all the Colonists were called upon to endure and contend against. The Colony had internal foes. A small but active, and at that time influential party, had arrayed themselves on the side of the Kaffirs from the very outset of the commotion, and were exerting all the influence they possessed to dry up the public compassion for the frontier inhabitants, and at the same time to awaken the sympathy of the British public in behalf of the savage invaders of the Colony, and destroyers of the British settlement: and unfortunately in this they were but too successful. Dr. J. Philip, the Super-

intendent of the London Society's Missions in South Africa, not content with hastening home himself on this hopeful project, contrived to smuggle out of the Colony, with the assistance of the missionaries Read, father and son, residents of the Kat River, a Gona Hottentot named Andries Stoffels, and the petty Kaffir chief, Jan T'Zatzoe: the former a man of rather restless disposition, of boisterous manners, but of little influence even amongst his own class: the latter a Kaffir brought up in the Colony, of mild and pliable disposition, but of small authority in Kaffirland, where he was rather tolerated than respected. These men, without any strong traits of character, were nevertheless admirably qualified for the parts they were required to perform in this political drama. Accordingly, on their arrival in England, they became the lions of the 'Religious public.' They were paraded through the entire length and breadth of the land, brought out at public meetings at Exeter Hall, and in all the large provincial towns of the kingdom; they were prompted to make speeches, inculpatory of the frontier inhabitants, as the oppressors of the natives—thus exciting the indignation of the public against the unfortunate Colonists, then overwhelmed by the severest calamities, their houses burned, their fields desolated, and their families reduced to penury and wretchedness. In proof of the monstrous fables repeated at these meetings, we make the following extracts from a speech delivered by Dr. Philip at a gay public missionary breakfast at Sheffield, 15th September, 1835. Referring to the injurious despatch of Lord Glenelg to Sir Benjamin d'Urban, and in vituperation of some remarks which had been made on the subject in the 'Times' newspaper, he remarks, triumphantly—

"'You may remember that it was asserted in the official despatches from the Colony, that the Kaffirs were the immediate cause of the war; that they burst suddenly into the Colony; and that they had no provocation for doing so. On this ground, a Proclamation was published on the 10th of May, 1835, in which it was declared that certain Kaffir Chiefs named, and their people, were expelled for ever—and that on account of their treacherous invasion of the Colony! Expelled for *ever!* That is, exterminated [!!!] and the number who were then proscribed have been estimated, according to a census since taken, to have amounted to sixty thousand.'

"It is unnecessary to remark, that if this language have any meaning at all, it is intended to make the impression that the statement made by Sir Benjamin d'Urban was false, and his policy unjust and inhuman. Its fair and legitimate interpretation is, that the Kaffirs did not commence or give occasion for the war of 1835; that they did not burst suddenly into the Colony, or, if they did, that they had sufficient provocation for so doing. The plea of the Colonists is held up as a mere fable, fabricated purely as a screen for an unjust, cruel, and tyrannical measure, namely, the expulsion of the Kaffirs from the country west of the Kei—the word *expulsion* being interpreted as equivalent to that of *extermination!*

"But, as though this was not sufficient, the Rev. D. D. draws the following picture of the Colonists, as given in the 'Patriot' newspaper of the 22nd September, 1835:—

"'With regard to the obstacles to the civilization of Africa, Dr. Philip entered into a detail of the causes which, in his view, tended more than any other to keep her people in barbarism. He instanced, among other things, the conduct of European traders, who, with waggons laden with brandy, powder, and guns, penetrated into the interior, and when they had established themselves in some village, commenced their traffic, exchanging cattle for brandy, *sending out tribes of freebooters for everything they wanted, and keeping a set of hired marauders, whom they employed to steal cattle for them.* Another obstacle was, the practice of the Boers and Colonists, at particular seasons of the year, driving thousands of heads of cattle across the boundary into the country of the Kaffir and Hottentot, consuming their pasturage, and, when resisted, burning down their huts, and not unfrequently destroying whole villages.'!!!

"This will suffice to convince the reader of the animus of the whole of these proceedings, as well as the utter hopelessness of the contest in which the unfortunate ruined Colonists were then engaged. On the one hand, we see arrayed the Colonial minister, with Mr. T. F. Buxton, and the whole of the philanthropic party, of which he was the head, doing battle against them in the House of Commons; while abroad we have Dr. Philip *lionizing* Andries Stoffels and Jan T'Zatzoe, exhibiting them to the gaping multitude as the wonderful African Chiefs, exciting the sympathy, and emptying the pockets of his credu-

lous listeners—at the same time in constant communication with Mr. Buxton and other leading men, who were his avowed partisans, wedded to the same opinions, and possessing the same principles. And what was there to oppose to all this? We answer—simply the unaided, the depressed, the ruined Colonists, harassed by their immediate necessities, crippled in their means, without resources, and without friends, save a few generous spirits who voluntarily came forward, and endeavoured to stem that tide of prejudice which had thus set in against them, and which, as we now see, has ended in the ruin, for the second time, of the same people, and the destruction of their Settlement.

"The perfect success of these machinations was crowned at length by the appointment of Captain Stockenstrom, Mr. Buxton's nominee, to the newly-created office of Lieutenant-Governor of this Province, and who accordingly arrived here to assume his duties September 2nd, 1836."

THE EASTERN PROVINCE, IN THE DAYS OF BARROW.—Page 304.

The following extract from Barrow will give an idea of the great alterations which in all things have, since his time, (1795) taken place in this part of the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope.

"At the distance of fifteen miles to the westward of the bay, and close to the seashore, many thousand acres of ground are completely covered with forest-trees of various kinds and dimensions: the most common was the geel hout, or yellow-wood, (taxus elongatus) erroneously called, by Thunberg, the ilex crocea. These trees grow to the amazing size of ten feet in diameter, and to the height of thirty or forty feet of trunk, clear of branches. The wood is very serviceable for many purposes, but will not bear exposure to weather. Next to the yellow wood is the yzer hout, iron-wood (a siderox-ylou) growing to the size of three feet in diameter, and very high. The wood of this tree is close-grained, ponderous, and very hard. Hassagai hout (the curtesia faginea of the hortus kewensis) is a beautiful tree, growing to the size of the iron-wood, and is used for naves, fellies, and spokes of waggon-wheels, and most implements of husbandry. The grain of this wood is somewhat

closer, and the colour darker than those of plain mahogany. Stink hout, or stinking wood, takes its name from an offensive excrementitious odour that exhales while green, and which it retains till perfectly seasoned. It grows almost to the size of the geel hout, and is by many degrees the best wood in the Colony. The grain and shading are not unlike those of walnut; and many specimens from old trees make exceeding beautiful furniture. It appears to be well calculated for use in ship-building, either as knees, timbers, or plank. The stink hout is the native oak of Africa, and, I believe, the only species found upon that continent. It may therefore not improperly be called the Quercus Africana. Several other timber-trees of vast size were growing here, and afterwards met with in various parts of the Colony, particularly along the southern coast, to the number of more than forty different kinds; yet in Cape Town there is a general complaint of want of wood; and the extravagant demand of six hundred per cent. profit has been made there for European deals.

"In addition to the forest-trees were met with a great variety of small wood for poles; and the whole coast, for more than a day's journey to the westward of Zwart-Kop's Bay, was covered with thick brushwood, almost down to the water's edge. The greatest part of the forests of Africa is encumbered with a species of lichen that covers nearly the whole foliage, and hangs from the branches in tufts of a foot to three feet in length. This lichen was observed particularly to be growing upon the geel hout, and evidently impeded the growth of its branches.

"In the midst of all these forests, the miserable hovels in which the graziers live are the pictures of want and wretchedness. Four low mud walls, with a couple of square holes to admit the light, and a door of wicker-work, a few crooked poles to support a thatch of rushes, slovenly spread over them, serves for the dwelling of many a peasant, whose stock consists of several thousand sheep and many hundred heads of cattle. The oxen in this particular pasture are not so large nor fat as those further up in the country, nor were the sheep nearly so good as those of Camdeboo. One principal article of their revenue is butter. An African cow, either from its being a degenerated breed, or from the nature of its food, or the effects of the climate, or perhaps from a combination of these, gives a very small quantity of poor milk. Four quarts a-day is con-

sidered as something extraordinary, and about half the quantity is the usual average of a cow at the very top of her milk. The butter is sometimes very good; but the manner of plunging the whole milk into the churn, without suffering it to stand and cast the cream, is generally against its being so; nor is the least cleanliness observed in the management of the dairy.

"The country about Zwart-Kop's Bay seems best adapted for the cultivation of grain. The farmers at this place give themselves no trouble to manure the land, yet reckon upon a return of twenty-five, thirty, even forty, for one, especially if a stream of water can occasionally be turned upon the ground. In stiff, clayey ground, a small quantity of sheep's dung is sometimes employed to prevent the fragments from clodding together, and to make their parts less tenacious. How little they esteem manure is very evident from the heaps of dung piled up about the houses in those places where the cattle, in order to preserve them from beasts of prey, are pent up at nights. These are circular, or square spaces, shut in by dead branches of the thorny mimosa, and are called kraals, a name which they have also thought proper to transfer to the collected huts of the Hottentots, or Kaffirs. The beds of some of these kraals were twelve feet deep of dung, unmixed with any other material; and this is not the only nor the least offensive nuisance with which the hovel of a Dutch peasant is usually surrounded.

"The great fertility of the land in this part of the Colony can be no inducement for the farmers to extend the cultivation of grain beyond the present limited quantity, as they can have no demand for their produce, unless a coasting trade should be established. They would be very glad to find a market for their grain at a contract price of two shillings and eight-pence for a Winchester bushel delivered at Zwart-Kops Bay. The wheat of the Cape is a large, full grain, weighing usually from sixty-one to sixty-five pounds a bushel. Since the capture of the Cape, a small cargo was sent to Europe, which sold in Mark Lane market at a higher price than the best English wheat that appeared on the same day.

"The valley through which the Zwart-Kops River meanders, in its course to the bay, is a fertile tract of country, the greatest part of it capable of being laid under water. It is twenty miles in length, and between two and three in width.

The hills, that on each side rise with an easy slope, exhibit an unbroken forest of evergreen plants, holding a middle rank, in point of size, between shrubs and trees. The tree crassula, several species of the aloe, the euphorbia, and other succulent plants, were also mixed with the shrubbery. The whole valley is divided between four families; each having not less than five thousand acres of land, independent of the enclosing hills covered with wood. Yet not satisfied with this enormous quantity, they have made several attempts to burn down the forest, that the cattle might more conveniently come at the hefts of sweet grass that abound within it. Hitherto, all their endeavours have proved fruitless. The moment that the succulent plants, particularly the great aloes and euphorbia, became heated, the expanded air within them burst open the stems, and their juices, rushing out in streams, extinguished the fire.

"In one part of the valley was a morass of considerable extent, that by one single drain might be converted into a very beautiful meadow. The vast numbers of the Egyptian and the Mountain goose, of teals, and several species of ducks, that harboured in the reeds by which the swamp was covered, were beyond credibility, and the damage they did to the corn was very considerable. I have seen a field literally covered with them; and they were too bold to be driven away by shooting at them. The buffaloes also descend from the thickets at night, and commit great depredations among the corn. These, however, are much more easily chased away than the geese, and retire at the report of a musket.

"The swamp concealed also a species of antelope, or goat, called the riet-bok, or red goat, which does not appear yet to have been described by naturalists. In colour and size, the male approaches nearly to the lencophaca, or blue antelope. Its horns are from nine inches to a foot long, diverge a little towards the points, which are bent forwards, and are annulated about one fourth of the length from the base. A crest of short hair runs from the throat to the chest, which circumstance may probably assign it a place in the goat genus. The distinction seems to be arbitrary, and not drawn by nature. This is a very rare animal, and scarcely known in most parts of the Colony. Another species of antelope was here very plentiful, known by the Hottentot name of orabie, which, except in colour

and size, being of a darker brown, and a little larger, bore a considerable resemblance to the steenbok: it was marked down the face with two yellow lines. Here also we met with a beautiful little animal, the royal antelope of Pennant, and the pygmaea of the Systema Naturæ. Except the pigmy musk-deer, the royal antelope is the smallest of the hoofed quadrupeds: the height is from nine to twelve inches; the sides of a light brown, passing into an ash-coloured blue on the back; the horns are about an inch and a half long, erect and parallel, black, polished, and shining like marble; its habits are mild and innocent. The boschbok, or wood-deer, the antelope sylvatica, with its white-spotted haunches, was common amongst the brushwood; and the griesbok, the steenbok, and the diuker, were very plentiful upon the plains.

"Of birds, besides the ducks and geese already noticed, were great variety of water-fowl, such as flamingos, pelicans, and several species of cranes. Partridges, pheasants, and bustards, were also very plentiful."

END OF VOL. I.

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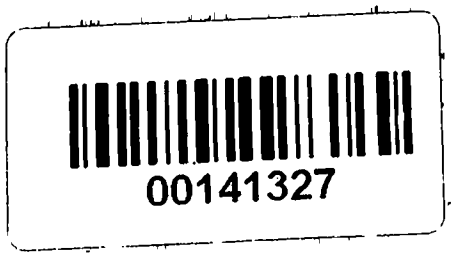
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